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The Landing of Columbus

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

BY

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PREFACE

Having taught the subject of American history for many years, the author believes that he has become acquainted with not a few of the difficulties of both teachers and pupils. In preparing this elementary book for Catholic schools certain conspicuous facts have been kept constantly in mind, namely, those of special interest and importance to Catholics. Thus it is made clear that Catholics discovered, and, in a large way, explored these continents, that Catholics transferred civilization hither, that they opened to the commerce of Europe the trade of the Pacific, and that they undertook the conversion of multitudes of dusky natives, of whom few had risen to the upper stages of barbarism.

Though England was Catholic when the voyages of Cabot gave her a claim to North America, that nation had become almost entirely Protestant before making any permanent settlements in the New World. Of the thirteen colonies founded or conquered by England, Maryland alone was settled by Catholic leaders. The war for independence, therefore, was begun by a people who were nearly all Protestants. However, in the course of that long struggle the assistance of Catholic nations was solicited and obtained. After February, 1778, the entire military and naval power of France was employed in the contest against Great Britain; after 1779, Spain, without becoming an ally, engaged in that war on her own account. But the Spaniards in America rendered undoubted assistance to the new Republic.

In this little volume somewhat more space has been devoted to Norse settlement and discovery than is usual in school books. The same observation is true of the Franciscan missions in China. The pages concerning Columbus are based upon researches of the author, and, among other things, aim at removing the obscurity which has surrounded

the equipment of the expedition of discovery. There will also be found an account of the Huguenot settlements somewhat more ample than that ordinarily given.

In treating the early history of New York an effort has been made to give to Governor Dongan that place among colonial worthies to which he appears to be entitled. The work of the Calverts likewise is more fully described than is customary with the authors of our school histories. By including the facts connected with the massacre of Lachine a slightly different complexion is given to the beginnings of King William's war.

In relating the causes and the progress of the Revolutionary War this book attempts so to present the events that it will be easy for the pupil to remember the story. The winning of the West, in which Catholics acted an important part, is rather fully treated. The war on the sea enumerates the exploits of the O'Briens of Machias, Maine, a subject passed without observation in even the more complete histories. To this section belongs also a sketch of Captain John Barry, who is only now beginning to be known to official America.

In the national period is included a brief treatment of the beginnings of the Catholic Church in the United States, to which is added Washington's patriotic letter to his Catholic countrymen. The importance is pointed out of Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain. The Civil War is presented according to its main movements. The outline of the war against Germany is based on the addresses of President Wilson, on General Pershing's report of the American Expeditionary Force, on government publications, and on contemporary periodicals.

For the benefit of the younger teachers who may use this book there will be found in the Appendix a topical analysis of our history. The questions following the chapters are designed to be suggestive rather than comprehensive.

CHARLES H. McCarthy.

The Catholic University of America.

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EARLY VOYAGES

CHAPTER I

NORTHMEN, ITALIANS, AND PORTUGUESE

The Northmen. — The first white men who ever came to America were Northmen. Our continent was discovered through accident in the year 1000, by a Northman named Leif, who was on his way to proclaim the Christian faith in Greenland. Let us see, therefore, who the Northmen were, and how Leif came to make his famous voyage to Greenland.

The Northmen, a thousand years ago, were known as the boldest sailors of Europe. Their home was Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and they were called Norsemen and Danes as well as Northmen. Among their descendants are the Scandinavian peoples of to-day.

During the eighth and ninth centuries bands of Danish sea rovers sailed southward to plunder England. Some of them settled there, and for a time England was ruled by Danish kings. Other Northmen settled in France, received the benefits of a Latin civilization, and under the name of Normans played a great part in history. In Ireland, which the Northmen or Danes also attempted to conquer, they were severely defeated. Soon after this, defeats in Great Britain and on the Continent brought their career of conquest to an end. About the year 1000 they were converted to Christianity.

Settlement of Greenland. — In the saga of Er'ic the Red we are told that Eric and his father went from Norway

to Iceland on account of manslaughter. Not long afterward, about 985 A.D., Eric discovered and named Greenland and set out to colonize it. Like a shrewd real estate dealer of our time he gave the country a name that he believed would attract settlers.

The Norse colonies in Greenland were on the southwestern coast. The people were chiefly engaged in hunting, fishing, and cattle breeding. Their conversion to Christianity brought them into such communication with Rome as their distant situation would permit. They contributed tithes to the Crusades ² and as late as 1418, in walrus tusks paid their Peter's Pence to the Holy See. At this time the population of Greenland was about 5000. There was a monastery of Saints Olaf and Augustine; also a convent of the Benedictine order. Greenland could claim a line of at least sixteen bishops.

Discovery of the Continent. — The Greenlanders were still few in number, and not yet converted, when an accident gave them knowledge of a new country. Leif, one of the sons of Eric, had won the favor of Olaf, the king of Norway. On one occasion this ruler asked, "Is it thy purpose to sail to Greenland this summer?" "It is my purpose," said Leif, "if it be your will." "I believe it will be well," answered the king, "and thither shalt thou go upon my errand to proclaim Christianity there."

On the way to Greenland, Leif's ship was tossed about

¹ The sagas were accounts handed down orally by the Icelanders for many years, and later reduced to writing. Iceland was settled by the Northmen in the ninth century.

² The Crusades were mighty invasions of Asia which were intended to prevent the Mohammedans (Saracens and Turks) from overrunning Europe; also to make safe the route taken by pilgrims on their journeys to the Holy Land; in fact, its conquest was one of the main objects of the soldiers of the cross. These movements began in 1096. After 1291 they were practically abandoned.

by a storm and at last was driven toward a strange shore. On landing he found wild grapes so plentiful that he called the country Vineland. While returning homeward, he saved a shipwrecked crew, took the men with him to



A NORSE VESSEL

Greenland, and helped them during the winter. He then obeyed the king's command and proclaimed the Catholic faith.¹

Strange Lands and People. — In Greenland there was much talk of the land seen by Leif; and in the springtime of 1005, Karlsef'ni and Snorri fitted out a ship to find it. From the western settlement they sailed southward to a country they called Hel'luland, that is, the land of flat stones. Again they sailed for two days and came to a wooded tract in which there were many wild beasts. This

¹ Arthur Middleton Reeves, The Finding of Wineland the Good, 36.

they named Markland. Afterward the party sailed for a long time and finally came to a river flowing through a lake, into the sea. In the hollow places they found "selfsown wheat" fields: on the hills vines were growing. In the woods wild animals were abundant and in the waters there were many fish. While here in Vineland or Wineland they were visited by the natives, who came in skin canoes. These were ill-looking and swarthy men with ugly hair, great eyes, and broad cheeks. Karlsefni and his companions built huts and remained during the winter. As there was no snow, their cattle lived by grazing. In the spring the natives came in great numbers. In a fierce battle they showed much strength. This incident warned Karlsefni that life in that otherwise pleasant country would be a thing of constant dread. Moreover, there were disputes among the Norsemen themselves. Therefore in the summer of 1006 or 1007 Karlsefni with the survivors returned to Greenland.2

Greenland Settlements Destroyed. — Early in the fifteenth century the towns in Greenland were entirely destroyed by attacks of the Eskimos. If the Norsemen had had firearms, they would easily have held their own against both the swarthy natives of Wineland and the wandering Eskimos. As it was, their brave efforts came to nothing.

The Italians; Trade with Asia. — The people of southern Europe paid little attention to the Norse discoveries. The

¹ The best authorities on the discoveries of the Northmen in America believe that Helluland, the land of flat stones, corresponds to the modern Labrador; that Markland, the land of forests, must have been the island of Newfoundland, and that Wineland must have been the region of Nova Scotia. Many historians, it is true, place Wineland as far south as the shores of Narragansett Bay.

² Many other voyages were made to Wineland. Indeed, as late as the year 1121 Bishop Eric left Greenland in order to visit that part of his See, but afterward was never heard from.

Italian cities, for example, were far more interested in voyages to Asia. After the Crusades (1096–1260) many Italian trading ships went to Constantinople or to ports on the Black Sea, to get merchandise that had been brought from China or India or the Spice Islands. The articles in greatest demand were cotton, silk, rugs, spices, jewels,



THE KNOWN WORLD IN 1490; TRADE ROUTES TO INDIA

and rich cloth inwrought with gold and silver. Little was known about eastern Asia until Marco Polo, with his father and uncle, made the long journey to Cathay' (China), and wrote a lively account of the countries through which he passed.

The Franciscans in Cathay. — Late in the thirteenth century requests were sent to the Pope for missionaries.

In 1295 John of Monte Corvino (mōn'tā cōr-vē'no), a Franciscan friar, began his labors in the East. Years of toil were rewarded by many conversions. This zealous missionary was joined by assistants and at length was appointed Archbishop of Cambulac (Peking). At the very moment when it appeared as if the religion and the civilization of Europe were to be established in the East a revolt of the native Chinese drove out the ruling family. With the narrow policy that has marked them down to our own time, the Chinese have since kept foreigners at a distance. Missionaries, indeed, were still sent forth by the Popes, but they went out into darkness and were heard of no more.

Merchants and Missionaries in China. — During this brief enlightened era of Chinese history Europe learned much about the Far East from her missionaries and merchants. While the good friars were spreading a knowledge of Christian principles, other Europeans were explaining to the Chinese the benefits of commerce. The trade between Europe and the East grew to be very great. It is important in our own history, because the stopping of that trade was one of the causes that led to the discovery of America by Columbus.

Fall of Constantinople. — From the map on page 5 it will be seen that the city of Constantinople was the key of the northern trade routes to Asia, as Egypt was of the southern routes. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks, who gradually extended their conquests till they almost entirely cut off the trade between Europe and Asia. Upon the prosperity of Genoa (jĕn'o-a) and Ven'ice the effect was disastrous.¹ In a little while the trained seamen of Italy were dispersed among the rising powers of western Europe. This fact explains the presence of

¹ Trade will not prosper unless routes are safe and rates are reasonable. The Turks were unable to keep up the traffic.

Columbus first in Portugal and then in Spain, of Cabot in England, and of Verrazano (věr-ra-tsah'no) in France.

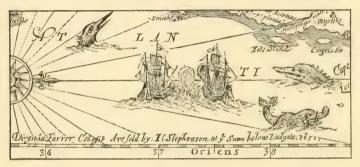
Prince Henry the Navigator. — As early as 1291 Genoese mariners, the Vivaldi (vē-vahl'dē) brothers, made an unsuccessful attempt to sail around Africa in order to reach India by water. About a century later the Portuguese took up the work of discovery. In his youth Prince Henry, the son of King John I, had seen military service in Morocco. In one of his campaigns he had talked with men from beyond the Sahara. From them he learned something of the interior of Africa. Afterward on Cape St. Vincent, Portugal, he built a school of instruction to which he invited scientific men from almost every country of Europe. It was then that exploration for the first time became systematic.

Diaz Passes Cape of Good Hope. — Nearly every year from 1418 to 1460 Prince Henry sent out ships to explore the western coast of Africa. The most southerly point touched by each captain was marked by a stone cross. The commander who was so fortunate as to carry the emblem of Christianity farther south was almost certain to be rewarded by the Prince. After his death, in 1460, this useful work was often interrupted. Nevertheless, the Portuguese persevered and finally, by the year 1487, Barthol'omeu Diaz (dē'ahss) rounded the Cape of Good Hope. In 1498 Vasco da Gama gah'ma), one of their captains, arrived in India, thereby completing one of the four greatest voyages in history.

Portuguese Achievement. — When the Portuguese began their voyages along the coast of Africa, popular ignorance had filled the "Sea of Darkness," as the Atlantic

¹ The other three of these wonderful voyages were made by Columbus in 1492, by one of Magellan's ships in 1519–1522, and by Drake in 1577–1580.

Ocean was then called, with all sorts of terrors. There were believed to be shifting whirlpools and irresistible currents. Parts of the ocean, it was thought, were no more than one fathom deep, and were the home of evil spirits; and if by chance a vessel could pass beyond, its crew was certain to become the sport of monsters of the deep. These fables were believed not only by untraveled



THE "SEA OF DARKNESS," AS SHOWN ON AN OLD MAP

landsmen but by veteran sailors. But now the Portuguese had passed in succession many capes. They had even crossed the equator without being burned up. Their voyages had much to do with freeing men's minds from the terrors of the sea. After the voyage of Diaz in 1487 they were sure of a water route to India; but some people thought that route would be too long for much use.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Who were the Norsemen? What conquests did they make? Who discovered Greenland and why was it so named? Give a brief account of the Greenland settlements, including their relation to the Holy See. Why did Leif sail to Greenland in the year 1000? What discovery was made on the voyage? Describe the voyage of Karlsefni and Snorri in 1005. What lands did they find? Why did the Norsemen abandon Wineland?

Where did Italian merchants usually go to get goods from the far East? What commodities were in demand among Europeans? What did Marco Polo do? Describe the missionary labors of the Franciscans in China. How was their work undone? What effect did the fall of Constantinople have upon the trade between Europe and Asia? Examine the trade routes on the map. Besides putting an end to the Asiatic trade, in what manner did the fall of Constantinople affect Italian seamen?

What did Prince Henry establish on Cape St. Vincent? Which of the Portuguese captains first sailed a ship around the Cape of Good Hope? Give the name of the Portuguese explorer who first arrived in India and also the date of that event. What was thought of the Atlantic Ocean before the Portuguese began their explorations? What was the effect on people generally of those discoveries?

References. — Charles H. McCarthy, Columbus and his Predecessors, pp. 17-81; Arthur Middleton Reeves, The Finding of Wineland the Good; R. H. Major, Prince Henry the Navigator.

CHAPTER II

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS

War with the Moors. — While the Portuguese were proving that unknown parts of the ocean could be sailed with safety, and while they were exploring the west coast of



THE BOY COLUMBUS TALKING WITH SAILORS

Africa, Spain was entering upon the last stages of a long and bloody struggle with the Moors. This war gave the Spanish sovereigns little time to note the activity of Portugal, but they did find time to consider a project submitted to them by a foreigner living in their country. This stranger was Christopher Columbus.

Boyhood of Columbus.— Christopher Columbus, the greatest navigator of all time, was born in the year 1451, in Genoa, Italy. By occupation his parents were simple weavers as he him-

self was and as were many of his kinsmen. He received such an education as was then given to the sons of artisans.

¹ From the time of his birth until he came to mature years almost every important event in the career of Christopher Columbus has been a battle-ground for historians. Many different dates have been assigned for his birth. The rank of his family has been disputed, and neither the manner nor the extent of his education has been shown with any degree of certainty. There is also some doubt as to the resting place of his remains.

In some way unknown to us he not only mastered the science of navigation, but learned Latin, and in that language read many works on geography.

Columbus in Portugal. — In the year 1476 Columbus arrived in Portugal, and there married Felipa Moniz, a relative of one of Prince Henry's navigators. While living in that country, he made a careful study of many important problems of geography, and kept a record of his own observations as well as those of others. The notes made in his books show that he was a remarkable student and thinker. He was especially interested in the problem of a water route to India.

About 1484 Columbus left Portugal. Before quitting that country, however, he had applied to King John for aid in carrying out his plan to reach the East by sailing westward. The king rejected the proposal of Columbus, but granted to one of his own captains any islands or mainland that he might discover in the Atlantic. After the failure of his captain, King John urged Columbus to return to Portugal and undertake for him a voyage of discovery.

Origin of his Grand Project. — It is often said that the idea of arriving at the East by sailing westward was first suggested to Columbus by a letter of Toscanelli, a celebrated astronomer of Florence in Italy. As to this, it need only be said that Columbus himself had brought together a far more convincing body of knowledge than is to be found in the Toscanelli letters. To Columbus, then, is due the credit of having collected all the geographical information of his time and of having applied it to the problem of reaching eastern Asia by a new route.

Spanish Friends of Columbus. — When Columbus arrived in Spain, he was, at least to persons of influence, an entire stranger. Among his early friends in that country

was the Dominican friar, Diego de Deza (dē-ā'go dā dā'thah), Bishop of Palencia. Other friends were Antonio de Marchena (mar-chā'nah) and Cardinal Pero Gonzales de Mendoza (pā'ro gōn-ṭhah'less dā men-dō'thah). The latter it was who persuaded King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella to listen to the proposals of Columbus. Among the priests, the bishops, and the archbishops of Spain he found his best and most influential friends.

At La Rabida. — At first the proposal of Columbus was rejected by the Spanish sovereigns. After this failure, and a still later one, Columbus resolved to leave Spain



THE MONASTERY OF LA RABIDA

and to try his fortunes in France.¹ He set out at once for the nearest seaport. With his little son, Diego, he made his way on foot. Night found the tired travelers before a monastery. A knock at its hospitable door brought the porter,

of whom Columbus asked food and a bed for himself and his little boy. The Prior, Father Juan Perez (hwahn pā'reth), asked who he was and whence he came. This time the sailor explained his project to a sympathetic mind. At Palos (pah'lōss), not far from the monastery of La Rabida (rah'be-dah),—for here it was that Columbus had sought rest,—dwelt a young man who was believed to have some knowledge of astronomy. With him and the Prior the stranger discussed his project of reaching the

¹ When persuaded that it was useless to remain longer in Spain, Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to England. Little is known of that mission, but on his way back Bartholomew heard of his brother's discovery of the Indies.

East by a westward voyage. So convinced was Father Perez that it could be done that he offered to write to Queen Isabella and urge her again to take up the decision of the court. A letter was sent to her Highness, and within two weeks brought a friendly reply requesting the Prior to appear before his sovereigns.

Mission of Father Perez. — At midnight Father Perez mounted his mule and set out upon his long and dangerous journey. At his interview with the Queen it was agreed that three vessels should be equipped for the expedition. Her Highness also sent a sum of money and a letter to Columbus. This directed him to purchase a mule, suitable raiment, and to appear before her.

The Contract. — On April 17, 1492, Columbus entered into a contract with Ferdinand and Isabella. It provided that the sovereigns should pay seven eighths, and he one eighth of the cost of the undertaking; that in this proportion they should share the profits; that Columbus should be made admiral of all those islands and mainlands which should be found through his agency; also that he should be invested with all the privileges belonging to an admiral of Castile; that he should be made viceroy and governor-general of all the islands and mainlands discovered by him and that from all the trade within the limits of his authority he should receive ten per cent of the net proceeds.

Objects of Columbus. — It is generally stated that the object of the Admiral was merely to find a shorter route

When Isabella became Queen, she revived an old society known as the Santa Hermandad or Holy Brotherhood. One of its objects was to make the highways safer for travelers. The Brotherhood had power to lay and collect taxes. This right always gave it a fund with which to do its work. Through its officials it loaned the sovereigns the money for prying their share of the sum needed for equipping Columbus. This was afterward repaid with interest. The amount paid back was 1,140,000 maravedis, which would represent about \$70,000 of our money. Where Columbus got his share is not certainly known.

to India. In the *Journal* of his first voyage he describes his undertaking as an embassy to see the countries of India, "to see the said princes, and the cities and lands, and their disposition, with a view that they might be converted to our holy faith . . . they [the Catholic Sovereigns] ennobled me, so that henceforth I shall be called Don, and shall be chief admiral of the Ocean Sea, perpetual viceroy, and governor of all the islands and continents that I shall discover and gain in the Ocean Sea." In other words, Columbus was an explorer and missionary.

The Ships and the Crew. — In the summer of 1492 a royal order commanded the town of Palos to provide two vessels for a year, and wages for their crews for four months. This was a punishment for some offense against the crown. It soon appeared that it was easier to get the wages than the crew, for the boldest sailors shrank from the dangers of the voyage. Imprisoned criminals were promised that they would not be tried until two months after their return, but they refused the offer. It was not necessary, however, to depend upon the inmates of jails. The Pinzon (pēn-thōn') brothers, of whom one was going as master and two as captains in the fleet, had relatives and friends in Palos as well as in other seaports. Their influence enabled Columbus to secure capable crews. In addition to the two vessels provided by Palos a third was obtained from another source. The crews numbered one hundred twenty men.

The Voyage of Discovery. — When everything was in readiness, Columbus and his companions went to the church in Palos, where prayers were offered for the success of the expedition. About sunrise on the following morning, Friday, August 3, Columbus gave the signal to weigh anchor. For a few hours the winds were at rest. Later under a light breeze the three vessels—the Santa Maria

(mah-rē'ah) the *Pinta* (pēn'tah) and the *Niña* (nēn'yah) — sailed away southward through the "Sea of Darkness." Thus was begun the most memorable voyage recorded in history.

After six days the fleet arrived at one of the Canary Islands. Here the men altered the sails of the *Pinta* and repaired her rudder. Having taken on wood, water, and meat, they resumed the voyage. In a little while they were sailing through the Sargasso Sea, where they saw

tufts of grass-like seaweed, which they believed must only a short time before have been swept from land. The weather, too, grew pleasanter. By the end of September the fleet had passed through the Sargasso Sea; pelicans were with them, and petrels and flying fish were seen daily.

Signs of Land. — Since leaving Spain the winds had been blowing constantly toward the west. This alarmed the sailors, for they feared there were no breezes to waft them



THE SANTA MARIA

homeward. Winds from a different quarter, however, soon convinced them that these fears were unfounded. On the 7th of October a flock of birds led the Admiral to change his course to the southwest. But all signs seemed to fail. Then the sailors began to murmur and desired the Admiral to return, but he persuaded them to persevere.

On the 11th of October were seen a stick, a small board, and by one of the vessels a bunch of dog-roses. When all were assembled to sing the "Salve," which was the custom of the sailors, the Admiral cautioned them to guard well the forecastle and to watch diligently for land. To him who should first see land the King and Queen had

promised a yearly pension for life and in addition to this reward the Admiral had offered a silk vest. At ten o'clock in the evening Columbus saw a light on shore; two hours after midnight land appeared. Sails were lowered and the vessels lay to until daybreak.

Guanahani. — On the morning of October 12, 1492, the weary seamen found themselves at a small island of the Bahama group, which the natives called Guanaha'ni. On it they beheld naked people. Columbus landed and, after thanking God, took possession of the country for the king and queen of Spain. While this ceremony was in progress the natives began to assemble. By the Admiral they are described as a handsome race. Presents were liberally distributed among them and in a little time trade began. Columbus named the island San Salvador (Holy Saviour). His controlling thought was the conversion of the inhabitants. "If it please our Lord," says he, "at the time of my departure, I will take six of them from here to your Highnesses that they may learn to speak." Then they were to be returned to their own country.

Other Discoveries. — The Spaniards at once began to make a careful exploration of other islands of the Bahama group. The sight of a gold ring in the nose of a native led to an active search for that metal and thus to a great loss of time. Cuba, of which the Admiral soon heard, was thought at first to be Cipan'go (Japan). From that island it would be only a short distance to the country of the Grand Khan, and, once there, he could easily deliver to that ruler the letters given him by Ferdinand and Isabella. Fully believing that he was among the islands of the Indies, as all southeastern Asia was then called, Columbus referred to the natives as Indians.

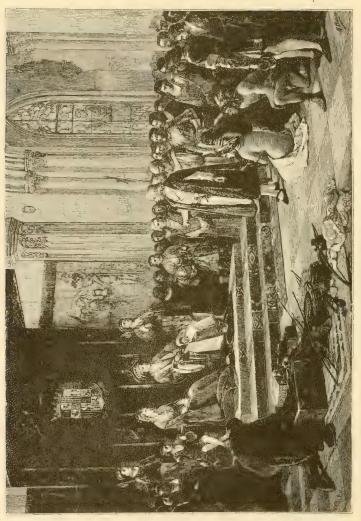
 $^{^{1}}$ When Columbus says "that they may learn to speak," of course he means the Spanish language.

While he was cruising along the northern coast of Cuba, Columbus sent his interpreter into the interior. Though he reported a village of naked Indians, the Admiral was not undeceived. Without completing the exploration of Cuba the fleet sailed to Haiti. From its resemblance to Spain this island was named La Isla Española, the Spanish island; hence the English name Hispanio'la.

Wreck of the Santa Maria. — While continuing the exploration of Haiti, the Santa Maria ran aground and was wrecked. This accident led Columbus to attempt a settlement. Forty-three men, all volunteers, were left on the island, in a little fort and town called Navidad (Nativity). When the Admiral was taking his departure, he urged obedience to their captain and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indians. Above all, they were to keep together. The disregard of this sound advice led to the complete destruction of the little colony.

The Return Voyage. — Without warning to Columbus, Pinzon had sailed away with the *Pinta*, and, as we have seen, the *Santa Maria* had been wrecked. This left the Admiral with only one small vessel, the *Niña*, and that he did not care to risk in further exploration. He therefore made preparations for returning to Spain. In a short time he was joined by the *Pinta*, and then the homeward voyage was begun.

After escaping two severe storms near the Azores the Niña dropped anchor in the Tagus on March 4, 1493. Columbus had no choice in the matter or he would not have thus trusted himself in the hands of the Portuguese. Though some of the people seemed unfriendly, the king, when he knew that Columbus had discovered western lands, showed him much honor. As there was no attempt to detain him, he set sail for Spain and on the 15th of March east anchor in the harbor of Palos. It would not



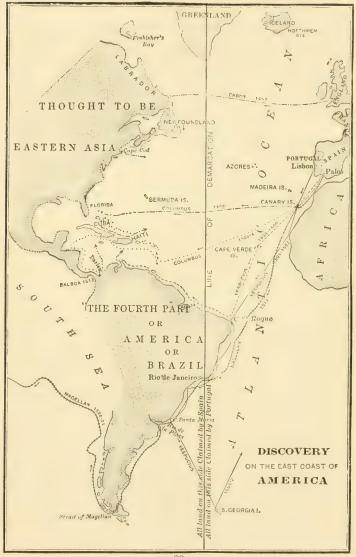
be possible to describe the rejoicings in that little port. The entire population turned out to welcome Columbus and "to give thanks to our Lord for so great favor and victory." ¹

Reception of Columbus. — Never was witnessed in Spain so splendid a procession as in April, 1493, wound its way from Seville to Barcelona. As it passed along the highways, all the people crowded up to catch a glimpse of the Discoverer, of his Indians, and of the productions of their country. When he arrived near Barcelona, he was met by many dignitaries and by them escorted to the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella. When he went to kiss their hands, they arose, as to a person of high rank, and caused him to sit beside them.

Treaty of Tordesillas. — When, on returning from the voyage of discovery, Columbus was forced by a storm to seek a haven of refuge in Portugal, he was reminded by the king of that country that his discoveries might be within the limits of Portuguese authority. The danger of a conflict of interests between Spain and Portugal led the Pope, when requested, to act as umpire. A year later (1494), by the treaty of Tordesillas (tōr-dā-sēl'yahss), it was agreed that a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands should be drawn from pole to pole. East of that line Portugal could continue her explorations and west of it Spain was free to make discoveries.

The Transfer of Civilization. — Columbus soon made ready for a second voyage, because their Majesties had decided to found a colony in the Indies, as the new lands were henceforth called. This time there was no lack of

¹ Ferdinand and Isabella hastened to inform Pope Alexander VI, himself a Spaniard, of the exploit of Columbus. In making the announcement they mention the existence in the new islands of gold and spices, but at the same time they declared that in fitting out the expedition their motives were discovery and the extension of Christianity.



men, of money, or of ships. By September 25, 1493, there had been assembled seventeen vessels carrying colonists and soldiers to the number of 1500. The Indians, who had been converted, were returning to their homes. Besides its human cargo the fleet brought farming implements, plants, and seeds; also horses and cattle. This was the first step in the transfer of civilization to the New World.

Isabella. — One night in November the fleet reached the vicinity of Fort Navidad. The salute of the ships was followed by a fearful silence. Toward midnight there came from the shore Indians shouting, "Almirante! Almirante!" (Admiral! Admiral!). They told Columbus that many of the Spaniards had died and that others had gone into the country. Morning confirmed his fears. Not a Spaniard survived.

The ill-fated Navidad was abandoned and another location for a settlement was selected on the northern coast of Española (Haiti). This they appropriately named Isabella, the first city of the Indies. Leaving the town to be ruled by a commission, the Admiral undertook a more careful exploration of Cuba, which he believed to be a part of the mainland of Asia. During his absence the state of affairs in Haiti became alarming. Certain officials in the town were active in creating discontent, and a few escaped with a ship of the Admiral's brother, Bartholomew, who had come out as military governor. On their return to Spain they gave an account of the country very different from that given by Columbus.

Third Expedition. — In 1496 Columbus returned to Spain. The hostility of officials prevented for two years his third voyage to the New World, but finally he brought together a small fleet, one part of which sailed directly for Haiti, while the other took a more southerly route. It was on this voyage that Columbus first sighted the

mainland of America. On July 31, 1498, he beheld Trinidad (Trinity) and on the following day was coasting along the continent of South America, which he told his sovereigns was "another world."

The Admiral's Downfall. — Discontented men roamed over the island of Haiti committing all sorts of excesses and unsettling the friendly relations that Columbus had established with the Indians. The leader of the discontented found himself supported by most of the Spanish settlers against those whom they called "upstart foreigners." The rank, the merit, and the services of the Admiral could not silence the voice of slander. This condition put a stop to further discovery.

King Ferdinand empowered Bobadilla, who was sent from Spain, to decide all matters between the Admiral and the colonists. If he found Columbus and his brother guilty, he was instructed to supersede them. It is enough to say that Bobadilla, without any trial, had them put in irons and separately confined on board a ship until it sailed for Spain. The humane officers of the returning vessel offered to remove the irons from Columbus, but he said that his treatment had been ordered by their Majesties and by them the irons should be removed.

When the discoverer's treatment became known, all Spain was indignant. Convinced of his innocence, the sovereigns ordered the prisoner set at liberty. A sum of money was sent to the Admiral together with a grateful and affectionate letter inviting him to court. No attention was paid to the charges against him, but his rights were not restored.

Fourth and Last Voyage. — In May, 1502, Columbus set out on his fourth and last voyage, intending to reach India. In the matter of time this was his longest voyage. Along the Honduras coast he saw natives with a civiliza-

tion superior to that of the naked Indians of San Salvador, and farther on he heard of a sea (the Pacific Ocean), which he supposed to be part of the Indian Ocean. But after many weary weeks he was forced to turn back with-

out finding any strait which would lead to that

ocean.

Death of the Discoverer.—Late in 1504, Columbus was back in Spain, his health greatly broken. Though he sometimes appeared at court, he grew gradually weaker and on the eve of the Ascension, May 20, 1506,



LANDS DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS

died at Valladolid. His last days were spent in obscurity. Though the world did not note his departure, "Columbus was," says an able American historian, "one of the greatest characters that ever passed before the eyes of men." 1

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — While the Portuguese were engaged in African exploration, what were the Spaniards doing? What project did Columbus submit to Ferdinand and Isabella? Who is mainly deserving of credit for the project of Columbus? What do we know of the manner of his equipment? What was his great object? Describe the discovery, the return voyage, and the nature of his reception by the Spanish sovereigns.

What was the treaty of Tordesillas? How was civilization carried to the New World? On what voyage did Columbus discover the mainland of America? Describe his downfall and his death.

References. — Charles H. McCarthy, Columbus and his Predecessors; E. G. Bourne, Spain in America.

¹ Thacher, Columbus, I, 86.

CHAPTER III

EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENTS

Cabot's Explorations for England. — The claim of England to the Atlantic coast of North America was based on the discoveries of John Cabot, an Italian sailor in the service of Henry VII, the last great Catholic king of England. When the deeds of Columbus were talked of and praised at the court of that monarch, John Cabot was living in that country. With the permission of King Henry VII and the assistance of some merchants, he obtained a small vessel and a crew of eighteen, nearly all Englishmen from Bristol. In command of this expedition he set out for the west in May, 1497, and sailed until the 24th of June, when he found himself on the shores of what is thought to have been Labrador or the island of Cape Breton. Sailing along an unknown coast for, perhaps, a thousand miles, he then returned to England.² He supposed that the land he saw was the eastern coast of Asia. In the following year, 1498, Cabot led another expedition further to explore the lands that he had discovered, but of his return there is no record. Though there is the greatest obscurity as to the extent of his voyages, England by reason of them claimed the land from Florida to Labrador.

Portuguese Explorations; Cabral. — In the year 1500 a fleet under Cabral' left Portugal with rich cargoes for the eastern trade. This commander, who was no timid

¹ Like Columbus, John Cabot was a native of Genoa, though he became a naturalized citizen of Venice. Therefore he is sometimes called a Venetian.

² An entry in the royal accounts shows that the frugal Henry VII gave "To hym that found the New Isle, £10."

sailor, kept well off the coast of Africa. Indeed he sailed so far out to sea that in April he came, quite unexpectedly, on a strange coast. After cruising long enough to know that he was not on the shores of an island, he sent a vessel back to Portugal with tidings of his discovery and suggested to his king that the new continent be more carefully explored. Then he resumed his voyage to India.

Vespucius. — It was in 1499 that Amerigo Vespucci (ah-mā-rē'go ves-poot'chē) — or Americus Vespucius — first visited the southern continent. With him was Juan de la Cosa (hwahn dā lah cō'sah), who had sailed with Columbus. For some reason Americus removed to Portugal, where he was living when Cabral's ship returned with tidings of his discovery. The king was glad to bring into his service one who was already familiar with the Indies. In 1501, with Americus as chief pilot, three ships sailed for the land seen by Cabral. They came on the coast near Cape St. Roque and for a great distance explored the shores of the country that we know as Brazil. As much of this land was east of the demarcation line (page 20) it was claimed and later settled by the Portuguese.

Naming America. — Vespucius wrote accounts of the lands that he had seen. Early in the sixteenth century it happened that the little college of St. Dié (săn dyā') in the Vosges (vōzh) Mountains included among its teachers two men who were preparing a new edition of a geography. One of them, Martin Waldseemüller (vahlt-sāmēl'er), suggested that the new southern continent be called America, in honor of the Italian writer and navigator, Americus Vespucius. This geography, which was printed in 1507, gave the name America to the southern continent only, for the new lands to the north were then supposed to be part of Asia; but in time the name came to be applied to the northern continent also.

SPANISH EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST

Discovery of the Pacific. — The Spaniards established colonies not only in Haiti, but also on other islands and on the mainland. Among the earliest settlements was one



BALBOA TAKES POSSESSION OF THE PACIFIC

on the Isthmus of Darien', or Panama'. Sailing to that little colony from Haiti, a captain found on his vessel one Vasco Nuñez de Balbo'a, who had stowed himself away in order to escape his creditors. When the ship arrived at the isthmus of Darien, Balboa became a popular leader and defied the governor of the settlement. Later he learned that toward the west was an ocean which washed the shores of lands rich in gold. With a strong force he

set out to find the sea which would convey him to that favored region. From a peak on Darien he beheld, in September, 1513, a bay which led him to the Pacific, which he called the South Sea. Wading into its waters with a

banner and a drawn sword, he took possession for Spain of both the boundless sea and its shores.

Discovery of Florida. — The first undoubted exploration of Florida¹ was that of Juan Ponce de Leon (pōn'thā dā lā-ōn'), governor of Porto Rico, a Spaniard who had come to the New World with Columbus in 1493. It may have been that he was anxious to win fame as a discoverer or that, as is generally believed, he was still more eager to feel once more in his veins the warm blood of youth. Twenty years in the tropics had told on this fearless warrior, and he wished personally to test the merits of a fountain said to exist in a land far to the north and believed to possess the property of restoring youth.

In the same year that Balboa first gazed on the Pacific, Ponce de Leon saw to the west, as he cruised northward in search of the fabled fountain, a land of waving woods and beautiful flowers. This he sighted about Easter Sunday, 1513, and in honor of the day called it Florida,² a name by which the Spaniards knew all the land north of the Gulf of Mexico. In the year 1521 he was again on the Florida coast for the purpose of making a settlement. His colonists, however, were promptly attacked by the Indians, who killed and wounded many, among them Ponce de Leon himself, who died in Cuba soon after his return.³

¹ Earlier voyages to that region are thought to have been made.

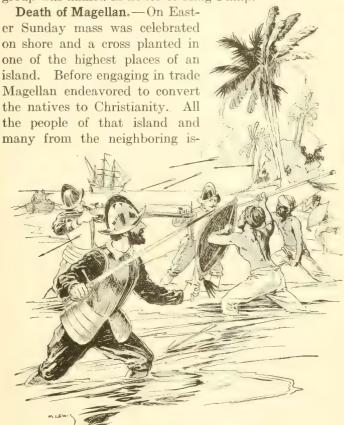
² In the Spanish language Easter, the church feast commemorating the resurrection, is *Pascua de resurrección o florida*. The word *florida* means flowery, full of flowers.

³ Among other Spanish explorers of this period may be mentioned Cor'dova, who visited (1517) the peninsula of Yucatan, and Pineda (penā'dah), who reported the finding (1519) of a great river (probably the Mississippi), which he called *Rio del Espíritu Santo* (River of the Holy Ghost). In 1521 Ayllon (īl-yōn') sent to the coast of Florida an expedition which kidnaped a cargo of natives. In 1526 he tried in person to make a settlement north of Cape Hatteras.

Discovery of the Philippines. — The story of Spanish endeavor to Christianize races, some of which were yet to pass the cannibal state, is a record of courage and sacrifice perhaps unequaled in the history of the human race. Spain gave to civilization a new world; she began the transfer of civilization to the two American continents and to two great archipelagoes, — the West Indies and the Philippines. We have already learned how the New World was discovered by Columbus; we are now to see how another great navigator won the Philippines for Spain.

Ferdinand Magel'lan had gained skill and knowledge in the commerce of Portugal, his native land; and after transferring his services to Spain he was entrusted with a fleet of five vessels. His purpose was to discover a strait leading into the ocean seen by Balboa, and through it to reach the Moluccas or Spice Islands by a westward voyage. This voyage, destined to be the longest yet made, was begun on the 10th of August, 1519, from Seville, Spain. The fleet was soon at the Canaries and appears to have met with no unusual experiences as far as Brazil, where there was some trade with natives, who were still cannibals. A later anchorage was in the desolate bay of St. Julian on the shores of Patagonia. There the fleet remained for five months, entering into trade with the giant natives. In exploring the coast one of Magellan's ships was wrecked. The remaining vessels resumed their voyage. On October 21, 1520, they entered a strait which proved to be "one hundred and ten leagues long." Here one of Magellan's ships deserted. On November 28th was begun the long voyage over the trackless ocean, which because of its freedom from storms Magellan named the Pacific. For one hundred and ten days they sailed on without coming to land. Their provisions exhausted, they suffered almost incredible hardships before reaching the Ladrone Islands.

Finally, the three vessels arrived at the Philippines, which group was named in honor of King Philip.



MAGELLAN'S LAST BATTLE

lands were converted. On the invitation of these islanders, the commander sailed with three boatloads of men to punish their enemies. The battle went sore against the Spaniards, and but for the courage of their leader

they must all have perished. In covering the retreat of his men to their boats, and while knee deep in the water, Magellan was singled out by the savages and fatally wounded. Soon after his death more than a score of the Spaniards were decoyed to a banquet and murdered.

First Circumnavigation of the Globe. — One of Magellan's ships, the *Victoria*, with a crew of sixty, now attempted the voyage to Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope. After escaping shipwreck they came at last to the Cape Verde Islands, where, at the risk of capture by the vessels of Portugal, they took on fresh provisions. On September 8, 1522, the *Victoria* and eighteen survivors of her crew were back in Seville. On the next day that little band of heroes visited in procession two of its famous shrines and thanked God for their return.¹

The great achievement of Magellan proved that the southern continent is separated from Asia by the vast width of the Pacific Ocean. His expedition found a west-ern route to the Spice Islands, where the Portuguese had been trading for at least ten years, and finally proved that the earth is round.

Mexico and Peru. — Near Honduras, Columbus once saw natives not like the naked Indians of Guanahani, but people who wore cotton clothing. Had he continued toward the north on his last voyage, instead of seeking a strait to the ocean beyond, he might have heard of Mexico, a land which contained more silver than he had ever desired. But the winning of wealth and fame in the northern regions was reserved for Hernando Cor'tes, whose exploits in the land of the Aztecs equal in interest almost anything that we read in romance. Interesting though it is, the conquest of Mexico, between 1519 and 1521, forms

¹ Of this memorable voyage an interesting account was written by Antonio Pigafetti, an Italian gentleman who accompanied Magellan and who was among the survivors.

no part of the history of the United States. Another conquest, no less brilliant, and to Spain a source of no less treasure, was the winning of Peru in 1533, by Francisco Pizar'ro.

Spaniards in the United States. — In hopes of winning similar treasure in Florida, the Spanish explorer Narvaez (nar-vah'eth) led in 1528 an expedition through the southern part of our country. For this adventure he brought six hundred men from Spain, but desertions and losses by shipwreck weakened the party somewhat before landing in Florida. Marching through swamps and forests, they fought Indians and sought for gold. Of the entire company a mere handful made their way along the shore of the Gulf of Mexico. The four survivors landed somewhere to the west of the Mississippi and joined the Indians, by whom at first they were treated with great harshness. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (noo-nyeth cah-bā-thah dā yah'cah) after his return to Spain wrote a thrilling account of their wanderings.

De Soto's Exploration. — One of Pizarro's lieutenants, Hernando de So'to, had acted a gallant part in the conquest of Peru, but had not won the confidence of his leader. In time he returned to Spain. With his own eyes De Soto had seen Pizarro acquire untold riches, and he knew that his kinsman, Cortes, had won wealth and fame in Mexico. He was dreaming of conquests when Cabeza de Vaca interested all Spain in his story of vast lands and of treasure. In fact, he had already selected his field and had begun to assemble his followers when he heard the new tidings.

By the year 1539 De Soto with six hundred men arrived at a harbor on the west coast of Florida. As soon as they landed, there began a repetition of the awful experiences of Narvaez. Marching, wading, fighting, killing, and kidnaping, made up the labors of the day. It is believed that

¹ From 1521 to 1821 Mexico continued to be a colony of Spain.

the Spaniards marched as far north as the Savannah River. From that point they turned southwest until they arrived at a fortified town on the banks of the Alabama. There lay thousands of warriors concealed in the forests; but De Soto won a complete victory over the Indians. Their town also was destroyed. The Spaniards, however,



LANDS IN NORTH AMERICA EXPLORED BY SPAIN, TO 1600

did not escape without loss, for in the flames their baggage was destroyed. In another victory they lost fifty horses and four hundred hogs. When their clothing and weapons were out or were lost, they made wooden lances and clothed themselves in the skins of beasts. Thus accounted they marched in 1541 to what they called the Great River, but which is known to us as the Mississippi (Father of Waters). It is believed that De Soto and his men crossed the mighty river at Chickasaw Bluff and journeyed thence

northwestward into Arkansas. In the spring they were once more at the Mississippi, where De Soto, disappointed and sick of a fever, died. He was buried in the middle of the great river which he had discovered.

At last the Spaniards built ships, drifted with the current, and followed the coast westward to a Spanish settlement in Mexico. Of the six hundred that had undertaken the conquest of Florida there survived three hundred and eleven worn cavaliers. Their first act was to visit the church and thank God for what they deemed a miraculous escape.

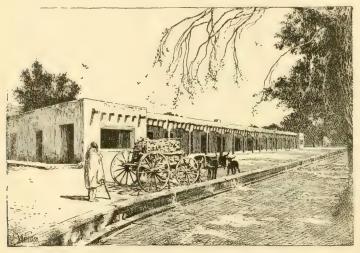
Marcos and Coronado. — The four survivors of the expedition of Narvaez had seen "hunch-back cows" (buffalo) and had heard of the Seven Cities of Cib'ola.¹ The Indians had told tales of silver. Nevertheless, the governor of New Spain, as Mexico was then called, was too prudent to risk the sending of a large force so far north, and instead ordered missionaries to enter the unknown regions and report what they could see and hear. Of a number sent forth there returned only one, Father Marcos de Niza (nē'thah), an able Franciscan. From a distance he had seen a town of very fine appearance; the houses, as the Indians had told him, were "all of stone, built in stories and with flat roofs,"

The governor had little trouble in raising a strong force, which was commanded by Vasquez de Coronado (vahss'-keth dā cō-rō-nah'thō). Among other things accomplished by his famous expedition (1540–1542) was the conquest of one of the Seven Cities, which the invaders found to be merely the community dwellings of Indians. The

¹ The Arabian conquest of the Spanish peninsula was begun in the year 711 A.D. After that time, according to a well-known legend, a bishop of Lisbon and many followers fled to certain islands in the Sea of Darkness, and on them the fugitives founded seven cities. This tradition of the Spaniards was mixed up with an Indian story, and more than one of their explorers dreamed of discovering the Seven Cities of Cibola.

Grand Cañon of the Colorado they saw and vividly described. In short, Coronado explored a vast region and solved the mystery of the Seven Cities of Cibola, but found little wealth.

About the same time Cabrillo (cah-brēl'yo) and his successor explored the Pacific coast almost to the mouth of the Columbia. The fatal beauty of Florida still continued to attract the adventurous Spaniards. Father Luis Cancer



THE SPANISH GOVERNOR'S PALACE, SANTA FÉ

and other missionaries arrived near Tampa in the year 1549, but the natives promptly put them to death. The country traversed by the subjects of Spain stretched from ocean to ocean, but up to the year 1565 they did not make any permanent settlement within the limits of what is now the continental United States.¹

¹ Though Santa Fé was the seat of Spanish power in the New Mexico region, in the beginning no church was built there. The Franciscans, however, labored diligently among the Indian pueblos and by 1608 were

FRENCH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

Voyage of Verrazano. — As early as 1503 John Denys (deh-nē') is said to have visited the dangerous shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But the first systematic French exploration of the New World was made by an Italian in the service of King Francis I, in 1524. This man, a bold and intelligent seaman named John of Verrazano (ver-ra-tsah'no), was sent to explore the western seas and perhaps to capture treasure ships of Spain. It is claimed that he visited what is now the harbor of New York; that he remained for a time in Narragansett Bay and sailed as far north as Nova Scotia before returning to France. The voyage of Verrazano gave France a claim to the Atlantic coast of North America.

Cartier's Voyages. — In 1534, Jacques Cartier (zhak car-tyā') entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence as well as the river of that name. The next year he sailed up the great river, which he believed would take him to the East. In 1541 he returned to the St. Lawrence and built a fort near the site of Quebec, but after a severe winter went home.

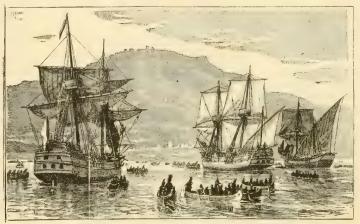
The Huguenot Settlements. — Though the English were the first to explore the Atlantic coast of North America, their old rivals, the French, made the earlier attempts at its settlement.

Jean Ribaut (rē-bō'), after a short voyage along the Florida coast, sailed northward and in 1562, near the site of the present city of Beaufort, S. C., built a fort in which he left a garrison of thirty men and then returned to France. These settlers, known as Hu'guenots, were followers of John

able to report 8000 baptisms. Ten years afterward Father Jerome de Zarate Salmeron baptized other thousands and composed in one of the Indian languages a catechism and other works. From these facts it is clear that Santa Fé is one of the oldest cities in the United States.

Calvin. The brief existence of this little colony was marked by hunger, mutiny, and bloodshed. They killed their leaders, built a rude boat, and sailed for home.¹

Two years later, René de Laudonnière (reh-nā' deh lō-don-nyair') brought to the river St. Johns in Florida a number of French settlers, nearly all Huguenots, who attempted to found a colony on its banks. But instead of tilling the soil they searched for treasure, interfered in the wars of



CARTIER'S EXPEDITION AT THE SITE OF MONTREAL

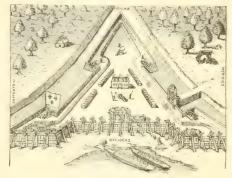
the Indians, and quarreled among themselves. Thirteen of the discontented then stole away in boats and began to plunder the coast of Cuba. Hunger finally forced them to surrender to the Spaniards at Havana and to reveal the existence of a French settlement in Florida. Later another band of mutineers compelled Laudonnière to give them a

¹ Before reaching Europe they drew lots to see which of their number should be slain to provide food for the others. Just as the flesh of the first victim gave out, they came in sight of their native land. Unfortunate to the last, they were captured by an English vessel.

commission to fight the Spaniards. They soon returned unsuccessful and starving. Laudonnière overpowered them, and for mutiny put four of the ringleaders to death. These

events, together with earlier attacks by French pirates, convinced the Spanish government that the settlement must be broken up.

When the colonists on the St. Johns were in great distress, Ribaut arrived with supplies and more settlers. At the same time the



FORT CAROLINE, THE FRENCH POST ON THE ST. JOHNS RIVER

Spaniards, whom the mutineers had been plundering, brought a fleet to retaliate.

Founding of St. Augustine. — The commander of this Spanish fleet was Pedro Menendez (mā-nen'deth). A hurricane left him with but three ships. Nevertheless he remained on the coast, was attacked by the French vessels, and, though he followed them out to sea, was unable to overtake them. Thereupon the Spaniards sailed southward and on September 5, 1565, began the settlement of St. Augustine, the oldest town within the limits of the continental United States. Afterward Ribaut and his followers fell into the hands of Menendez and most of them were put to death. Those who surrendered on condition, four carpenters, a few who declared themselves Catholics, fifty women, and the younger children were spared. According to the best accounts Menendez continued to kill his prisoners until his own force was stronger

than that of his enemy. At that point he felt it safe to spare the remainder.¹

Dominic de Gourgues. — When these French subjects were slaughtered in Florida, the king of France was striving to keep peace between the Catholics and the Calvinists in his own kingdom. One of his subjects, however, took matters into his own hands. In 1568 Dominic de Gourgues (goorg) fitted out at his personal expense three small vessels and with two hundred men surprised one of the Spanish forts and put to death every person in it. On his return to France he received no reward for his services. Perhaps his king did not believe that a private person had any right to commit such an act and perhaps he was not prepared to go to war with Spain, which was still a strong power.

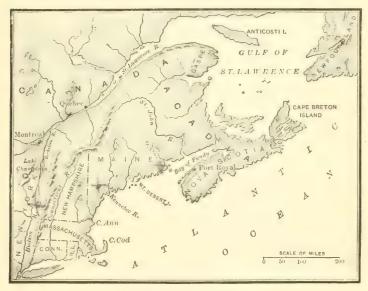
Port Royal Settled. — Not till the spring of 1605 was a permanent French settlement made in America. At that time there arrived a band of colonists who had come out in 1604 under De Monts (deh-mawn') and Champlain'. After a dreary winter passed on an island in the St. Croix River, the survivors removed to Port Royal (Annapolis), in the land of Acadia (Nova Scotia).

Founding of Quebec. — The king of France had given to De Monts the trade of that part of North America between the fortieth and the forty-sixth parallels of latitude;² and had also made him a viceroy and directed him

² The southern half of the region shown on the map opposite. The entire region was then a wilderness, with no white inhabitants.

¹ This affair, bad enough in any view, is misrepresented in some books, where it is said that the French, who were nearly all Protestants, were massacred by the Spaniards on account of their religion. There is no doubt that the religion of the French settlers added to the anger of the Spaniards, but it must also be remembered that the Spaniards first knew their neighbors as pirates. The French Huguenots were just as cruel as Spanish Catholics. About ten years before, 1555, Jacques de Sorie captured the castle at Havana and though he promised quarter to its garrison, put all his prisoners to the sword. He then burned churches and mutilated images.

to establish a settlement. Huguenot colonists were granted religious freedom. Champlain was quick to perceive the natural strength of the rock of Quebec and recommended it to De Monts as an admirable site for a colony. ¹



CANADA AND ACADIA

In 1608 with men, arms, and stores, Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence and put up three buildings, surrounded by a strong wooden wall, that made the beginnings of Quebec. For the first winter this post was held by twenty-eight men, of whom only eight survived until the following spring.

When the settlers on St. Croix Island, perishing of cold, hunger, and scurvy, were in a state of despair, Champlain was hopeful and with the return of spring went on with his explorations. If his spirit was darkened by failure, no one could perceive it in his cheerful manner. At that time he visited and named the island of Mount Desert, sailed by the mouth of the Penobscot, and explored the lower Kennebec. By July 15, when De Monts was with the party, they saw the outlines of Cape Ann, entered Massa-

Making War on the Iroquois. — Λ young Indian chief, amazed at the buildings that he saw on his first visit to



STATUE OF CHAMPLAIN AT QUEBEC

Quebec, begged Champlain to join him in a campaign against his enemies, the Iroquois or Five Nations. who dwelt in central New York and were the terror of all the tribes in the wilderness. Late in June. 1609, Champlain with a few Frenchmen in a shallop sailed up the St. Lawrence. They were soon at the mouth of the Richelieu. where, as a result of a quarrel, many of the Indians, who had come in canoes, paddled homeward. The remainder carried their canoes around the rapids and then resuming their voyage passed meadows, forests, and islands as they

paddled up the river and up the long and beautiful lake which still bears the name of Champlain. At last they

chusetts Bay, and passed Nantasket Beach. Head winds forced them to seek shelter in Plymouth Harbor, where the Pilgrims arrived fifteen years later. All this time Champlain was making maps and charts. His accounts threw much light on the dark places in New World geography.

The undertaking of De Monts in Acadia was ruined by the hostility of the English and the treachery of his countrymen, yet notwithstanding his experience, he was still ambitious to found colonies. Champlain, on the other hand, longed to learn the mysteries of the wilderness, to discover a water route to China, and to plant the Catholic faith and the power of France in the forests of the New World.

saw the canoes of a large band of the enemy. The Iroquois landed and built a rude fort on the wooded shore. Promising to fight to-morrow, the Indians passed much of the night in exchanging abuse. In the morning two hundred warriors trooped out of their barricade, many of them wearing shields of wicker or of hide, a perfect protection against arrows.

When Champlain, in armor, with a sword at his side and an arquebus in his hand, came to the front, the Iroquois were amazed, but in a little while they drew their bows. At this he leveled his piece, loaded with four balls, at one of the chiefs and fired. This shot brought down two Indians and wounded a third. On this Champlain's allies began to give deafening shouts. Both sides filled the air with arrows. When another Frenchman, concealed in the woods, fired a shot, the Iroquois abandoned their canoes as well as their dead chiefs, and fled into the depths of the forest. In their flight provisions were left behind and weapons flung away. The victory was complete. Writing of this campaign, Parkman says: "Champlain had invaded the tiger's den; and now, in smothered fury, the patient savage would bide his day of blood." 1

ENGLISH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

English Exploration Resumed. — From the year 1498, when John Cabot made his last voyage to America, until 1576, when Martin Frob'isher led the first of his three expeditions into the Arctic regions, England showed little interest in the New World. During that time, indeed, some of her fishermen followed their trade on the banks of Newfoundland. When Cabot found the "New Isle" (Newfoundland), all England was Catholic, but when Frob-

¹ Pioneers of France in the New World, Frontenac edition, II, 178.

isher took up the work of discovery almost the entire nation had become Protestant. In 1558 Elizabeth became queen, but it was not until she was securely seated on the throne that Englishmen again turned their attention to the new lands.

Sir Francis Drake. — Frobisher's three voyages (1576-1579) were made in search of a northwest passage to China. At the same time, 1577, the pirate Drake passed through the Strait of Magellan and sailed northward along the western coast of South America, plundering merchant vessels and terrorizing defenseless people. His robberies aroused the Spaniards, from whom he had taken fabulous sums in gold and silver. Warships watched for his return, but he never came back. It was in vain that he sought a northeast passage to Europe; failing in that effort, he wintered on the California coast, and named the country New Albion. He then struck boldly across the Pacific. and in 1580 reached England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Drake's ship was thus the second to sail around the globe. His piracy was approved and rewarded by Elizabeth, who raised him to the rank of knighthood.

The Naming of Virginia. — While Drake was gorging himself with plunder, other Englishmen were planning schemes of colonization.² Sir Walter Raleigh received a grant of land for the purpose of colonizing, but before sending out settlers he directed two captains, Am'adas and Bar'lowe, to explore it. They returned with a glowing account of what they had seen. Their description, touched up by the poetic pen of Raleigh, was given to Queen Elizabeth. Greatly pleased with it, she named the beautiful country Virginia, in honor of her unmarried state.

¹ Albion is a poetic name for England.

² In the year 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried in vain to make a settlement in Newfoundland. On his return to England the ship in which he sailed went down with all on board.

The Roanoke Settlements. — The place selected by the agents of Raleigh was Roanoke Island, on the coast of what

is now North Carolina. In 1585 Ralph Lane carried thither about 100 settlers, all men. They were compelled to make their living from the forests and fields around them. For this they were but ill fitted. The Indians showed signs of hostility, and the settlers were in danger of perishing when Drake took them back to England.¹

The expense of Raleigh's first venture was very great, but at that time he had a good income. He was a successful courtier, a good soldier, and a poet of no small talent. These and other qualities recommended him to the Queen, who allowed him many privileges. Believing that a mixed colony would be more likely to prosper, he sent out in 1587, under John White, women and children as well as men. In all there were about 108.

Mrs. Eleanor Dare, White's



daughter, gave birth to a child, who was named Virginia. Thus had Virginia Dare the distinction of being the first

¹ Though Raleigh must have been discouraged to see his colonists at home again, the attempt was not a complete failure. It was these returning settlers who brought the potato to England. Raleigh soon planted this vegetable on his estate in Ireland. His colonists also brought with them the dried leaves of the tobacco plant, which they had seen the Indians smoke. They believed it would cure almost any disease; therefore they introduced the habit of smoking or, as it was called at first, "drinking" tobacco.

American child of English parents. Soon after Governor White returned to England for supplies.

Defeat of the Armada. — At that time English subjects were encouraged to attack Spanish vessels wherever found. These methods finally led to a resolution on the part of Philip II, of Spain, to make war on England. Accordingly in 1588 the Armada, a fleet of 149 warships, carrying 30,000 men, sailed to attack England. The English having a much larger fleet, though scarcely half as many seamen, won an advantage at the outset, and the injury then begun was completed by heavy gales. John White's ship was needed against the Armada. Before he was free to return to Roanoke Island, three years had passed. Then he could find no trace of the settlement. To this day we know nothing of the fate of the colony of Roanoke. It is probable that on some unmanageable raft they were lost at sea.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Who was John Cabot and what did he accomplish? Explain the naming of America.

Tell what you know of Spanish exploration and conquest. Relate the story of the first circumnavigation of the globe. Who was De Soto? What did Coronado do?

What was accomplished by John of Verrazano? By Cartier? Tell the story of the Huguenot settlements on the south Atlantic coast. Who was De Gourgues? Name and give the dates of founding of the first French settlements in Canada.

Tell what you know of Drake, and of Raleigh. Describe the attempts of Raleigh to found a colony. What led to the fitting out by Spain of the great Armada?

References. — Henry Harrisse, John Cabot and his Son Sebastian; R. G. Thwaites, The Colonies (Epochs of American History, Vol. I.); Bourne, Spain in America; Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World; Edward Channing, History of the United States.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

A New Race. — When Columbus and his followers discovered America, they found the land already occupied by a race different from any that was known to people of the Old World. From Labrador to Patagonia, and from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, wherever Europeans touched the New World, they saw men of this strange race. Columbus, believing that he was among the islands off the southeast coast of Asia, called them Indians (Indios).

Indian Nations. — Indians have usually been classified because of differences of language. Thus the great Algonquin nation included tribes which occupied the vast tract between Hudson Bay and North Carolina and between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River. In the midst of that territory was the powerful Iroquois nation. North of the Gulf of Mexico were the Muskhoge'an tribes, including the Choctaws, Chick'asaws, Creeks, and Sem'inoles; also the Cataw'bas and the Yam'assees. West of the Mississippi were many different groups of tribes.

Except the very lowest, the Indians dwelt in strongly built houses. The most backward, indeed, lived in wig-

¹ In the age of Columbus, Europeans were accustomed to speak of all southeastern Asia, with the neighboring islands, as India or the Indies.

² This famous league was composed of the Five Nations, namely, the Mohawks, Onei'das, Ononda'gas, Cayu'gas, and Sen'ecas in New York. The Tuscaro'ras and Cher'okees lived in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia. To the north of Lake Erie dwelt the Hurons; south of that body of water were the Eries. These four tribes lived at a distance from the confederacy in central New York, but their language showed their connection with the Iroquois.

wams, which were made by placing saplings upright in a circle, driving them firmly into the ground, bringing them together at the top and covering the whole with bark or

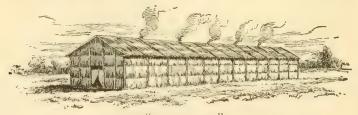


WIGWAMS

skins. Among the Iroquois the so-called "long house," divided into apartments, was large enough to hold twenty, thirty, or even fifty families.

The Clan and the Tribe.—All those dwelling in the same house were supposed to be descended from a single

female ancestor. A group of such families formed a clan, which had its own property, worship, and emblem. Except weapons and trinkets, Indians generally had no property. All goods belonged to the clan, which had its own religious

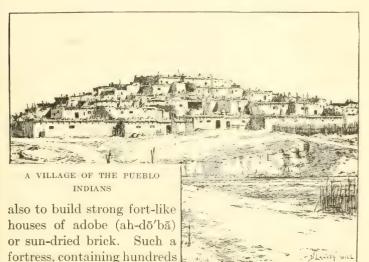


A "LONG HOUSE"

ceremonies and its own name. The name was nearly always derived from some animal, such as the bear, fox, turtle, or snake. This animal was held sacred, and its carved image was known as the *totem*. A number of such clans, speaking the same language, united to form a *tribe*. A chief was often chosen for his cunning and strength

in battle. Besides the chief, who was a military leader, there was a civil leader known as a sachem. In tribal affairs women as well as men took part.

The Half-Civilized Indians. — Semi-civilized Indians were to be found from New Mexico to Chile. They had a rude system of picture writing; they had learned to bring water from mountain streams to their parched corn fields;



of rooms, would be the home of a whole village. The arrangement was intended chiefly as a defense against neighboring savage tribes and was generally seen among the Pueblo (pwā'blo) Indians.¹ Frequently they dug dwellings into the faces of dizzy cliffs, which seemed almost inaccessible, but even this was not a perfect defense. The Hopi (ho'pē) of Arizona, and the Zuñi (zoo'nyē) of New Mexico, are Pueblo Indians.

¹ Pueblo is the Spanish word for village or town. In fact, for any settled tract. A Pueblo Indian is, therefore, a village Indian.

The Aztec Confederacy was formed by a union of the city of Mexico with two neighboring pueblos. It is certain that the Aztecs had a number of pyramid-shaped temples in which they offered human sacrifices. Ruins of temples and fort-like houses are found not only throughout the republic of Mexico but in many places in Central America, and in Peru and neighboring regions of the southern continent. When the Spaniards came to America, the leading tribes, both in Mexico and Peru, were engaged in conquering all the Indians around them. What systems of government they would have built up without European interference we shall never know.

The Mound Builders. — In addition to the ruins mentioned others have been found east of the Rocky Mountains, especially in the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. These remains, however, are not the ruins of temples or of pueblos, but mounds varying greatly both in form and extent. No fewer than two thousand have been discovered and opened. From them articles by thousands have been taken. These include stone axes, stone hammers, stone spades; water jugs, tobacco pipes, and tools for spinning and weaving.

Many mounds were used for burial purposes. A careful study of the contents of these great works seems to show that they were built not by a civilized race that has passed away but by just such people as the first white settlers found in America. In other words, there was no distinct race of mound builders.

Physical and Other Characteristics. — Though among the Indians there were differences in color, size, language, and customs, they all had coarse, straight, black hair, dark eyes, copper-colored complexions, high cheek bones,

¹ Some mounds are thought to have been intended for observation and some for defense.

and angular, beardless faces (picture on page 416). In size many were equal to the average white man. The differences in language were great. As to civilization, some Indians, as those of Mexico and Peru, had attained to the upper stages of barbarism, that is, they would be called semi-civilized; others, like those of California, were among the lowest of the human race. Some tribes wandered about and were to be found wherever fish was plentiful or game abundant.

So sparsely settled were the immense continents of America, when discovered, that within the limits of what is now the United States the entire population is believed not to have greatly exceeded 300,000. Their descendants, who are mostly beyond the Mississippi, are estimated at 260,000. We shall see how, east of the Mississippi, they faded before the white man.

Origin of the Indians. — When, how, or whence the Indians came to America we do not know. In times more recent, men from Asia have crossed Bering Strait on the ice to Alaska in pursuit of fur-bearing animals. Many centuries ago it would have been just as easy for Asiatics to have made the journey. In figure, features, and complexion as well as in civilization the Indian does not bear so close a resemblance to Europeans or Africans as he does to certain peoples in northeastern Asia.

Religion. — The worship of ancestors was general among the Indians. But with this devotion to the dead was mixed up the worship of the lightning, the tempest, and other things. As the poet says, the poor Indian "sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind." In his simple view almost everything in nature was possessed of a manitou or spirit. To this he prayed or sacrificed. The leaders in worship, of which dancing was an important part, were known as "medicine men."

Domestic Animals. — Except a poor sort of dog, the Indian of North America had no domestic animals. Horses, cows, sheep, goats, poultry, and pigs he got later from the white man. Without these it was almost impossible for him to take the first steps out of barbarism. As wars were frequent, no great supply of food was likely to be stored against either a dry season or a severe winter. With fighting as one of his chief occupations the Indian was certain to become cruel. He showed the greatest ingenuity in torturing prisoners.

Occupations. — When Europeans came to America, some of the tribes had already begun to cultivate the soil, but

it is not to be supposed that when they became farmers

they forgot the art, the pleasure, or the profit of hunting. In every stage of the Indian's progress this was one of his chief occupations. For success in it he relied upon a strong bow and flint-headed arrow, his stone tomahawk,

TOMAHAWK

and his ingenious traps. As he could not bring down distant game with a rifle of high power, it was necessary that he come close to bird and beast in order to dispatch them. This he was able to do by disguising himself in the skins of familiar animals and then creeping upon his prey. The drudgery of home and field was the lot of his squaw.

Clothing. — In the Bahamas, Columbus found naked savages. Farther north the men wore a hunting shirt, leggings, moccasins, and a band of deerskin round the waist. Clothing varied not only with climate but with civilization. The women, who were often dressed like men, wore deerskin aprons and moccasins ornamented

with shell beads or porcupine quills. In going forth to war the Indian tried to make himself look terrible to his enemy by painting upon his face spots or lines of red, blue, or yellow.

Food. — The Indian got his food from the fields, the forests, and the streams around him. These yielded him corn, squashes, pumpkins, beans, berries, fruit, and maple sugar; deer meat or bear meat, wild pigeon, wild turkey, and a great variety of fish.

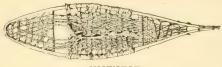
The Indian could start a fire for cooking by rubbing a pointed stick against a piece of dry wood. His fish was soon broiled by holding it on a forked stick over glowing embers. Ground corn mixed with water he baked in the hot ashes. His vessels, made of wicker or other wood, could not be put upon a fire. Instead he put stones into a fire and when they were white hot, plunged them into a vessel filled with water.

Travel. — Skin canoes were used by the western Indians. They were made by stretching skins over wooden frames. In the South and in the West Indies the natives used a dugout, made by shaping a tree trunk and then hollowing it. But by far the most useful boat contrived by Indian skill was the birch-bark canoe. In this frail craft the Indians traveled far. Past rapids, or from one stream to another, the canoe could be borne on the shoulders. Those stages of a journey over which the canoe had to be thus carried were called portages.¹

Indian Trails. — On land, the Indians were forced to travel on foot. In the course of time, their feet would wear a narrow path or trail through the woods or across barren ground. All parts of the country were crossed by such trails. As long experience had taught the Indians

¹ Portage is derived from the French verb *porter* (por-tā), which means to carry or to bear.

the easiest grades in traveling from place to place, in later times their paths have indicated to surveyors the natural



SNOWSHOE

routes for highways or for railways. For traveling over deep snow, the northern Indians invented the snowshoe, a won-

derful contrivance for preventing the foot from sinking into the snow.

Indian Warfare. — Disputes with Europeans resulted from the dishonesty of traders and from other causes. The white man was greedy, the Indian suspicious. It was the belief of the Indian that an injury done by any member of the white race gave him a right to be revenged upon any man, woman, or child of that race. In this state of feeling the settlers found it necessary to go armed, and at exposed places to build blockhouses in which, if necessary, all might take refuge.

When the settlers began to cut down the forests, the Indians, in order to find new hunting grounds, went farther into the wilderness. In so doing they frequently trespassed on the lands of other tribes. This often led to destructive wars among themselves. But long before the coming of Europeans there was savage warfare between the Indian nations. Whether against one another or against colonists the Indian did not fight in the open. From ambush he safely shot his enemy, mangled him with a tomahawk, and finished the work by scalping him.

Indian Arts and Names. — Indians taught white men how to grow corn and how to grow and cure tobacco. It was from them that the white man learned also how to make sugar from the sap of the maple tree.

Throughout America we find Indian names of moun-

tains, lakes, and streams; for example, Allegheny, Huron, Mississippi. Indian phrases have come into our language. "Indian summer" and "Indian file" are illustrations. The happy hunting ground, for the hereafter, burying the hatchet, to signify the making of peace, and similar expressions show the fanciful nature of Indian speech. From the same source many of our names of animals and plants are derived.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What parts of North and South America were settled when the Spaniards arrived in 1492? How are the Indians generally classified? Name the principal aboriginal nations. Describe their dwellings. What was the clan, and what the tribe?

Where were the semi-civilized Indians found? Who were the Mound Builders?

Describe the Indian in the matter of size, color, customs, language. Where are the aboriginal races of America believed to have come from? What is said of their religion? Of their occupations? Methods of travel?

What did the white man learn from the Indian? Mention some names that are of Indian origin.

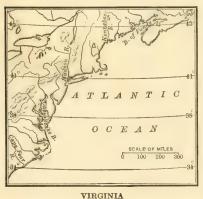
References. — W. H. Holmes, Handbook of the Indians North of Mexico; H. H. Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States of North America; Livingston Farrand, Basis of American History.

COLONIAL ERA

CHAPTER V

VIRGINIA

The Two Virginia Companies. — The defeat of the great Armada (p. 44) was followed by a steady decline of Spanish power, and by renewed projects of English colonization.¹



At length, in 1606, through Gosnold's influence, King James I created a company with two branches, namely, the London branch and the Plym'outh branch. The London branch could make a settlement anywhere in the tract between 34° and 41° north latitude. It was to receive a grant of land fifty miles north

and fifty miles south from its first settlement. In other words, it was given on the coast a front of one hundred miles; inland the grant was to extend the same distance.

¹ In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold sailed directly across the Atlantic to Cape Cod, which he named. A colony under his leadership settled on Cuttyhunk, at the entrance to Buzzards Bay, on the south coast of what is now Massachusetts; but on the approach of winter they returned to England.

The Plymouth merchants were free to make their first settlement anywhere between 38° and 45°, and were also to have a block one hundred miles square. To prevent any conflict, it was provided that the company making the second settlement should locate at least one hundred miles from the colony first established.

The Virginia charter was in many respects remarkable. It provided, for instance, that the English colonists and their descendants "shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England or any other of our said dominions." ¹

The Jamestown Colony. — As soon as the charter was granted, King James named the members of a council to govern Virginia. Arrangements were at once made by the London Company to send out the first settlers, who were to seek gold and silver and to search for a northwest passage. In December, 1606, three vessels, carrying 120 men, sailed from the Thames under Sir Christopher Newport. By April they were at the West Indies, and on May 6, 1607, they saw the capes of Chesapeake Bay. They entered the bay and sailed about thirty miles up a fine river which, in honor of their king, they called the James. That night a sealed letter from him was opened and read: also the names were made known of those who were to rule on land. There were likewise instructions from the Virginia Council. Unfortunately for the settlers this advice was soon forgotten. Though warned against it, they selected for their place of settlement a low and unhealthful peninsula, which at first was called James Fort, but which later came to be known as Jamestown.

¹ This clause had been a provision of the patents of both Gilbert and Raleigh.

Captain Newport returned to England, gathered supplies, found more settlers, and was again at Jamestown in January, 1608. He then learned that fever, hunger, and Indian arrows had swept off more than half of those he had first brought out.

The First President. — Edward Maria Wingfield, the first president of the Virginia council, was the only one of the patentees who came with the colonists. Ratcliffe,



ARREST OF WINGFIELD, FIRST PRESIDENT $\hspace{1cm} \text{OF JAMESTOWN}$

Martin, and Smith removed Wingfield not only from the presidency but from the council. In the circumstances his overthrow was easy. It was known or suspected that he was a Catholic. It was charged that he was an atheist, that he had brought no Bible with him, and that he had conspired with

the Spaniards to destroy Virginia. Even if he had not been dealing with hungry men his lot would have been hard, for in that age many well-fed people were willing to believe the wildest tales when told of Catholics.

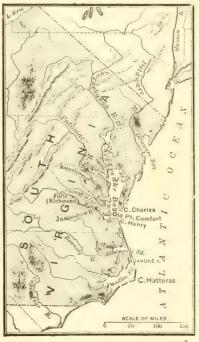
Captain John Smith. — For about three hundred years Captain John Smith was believed to have been the ablest and the most useful of the Jamestown settlers. As a matter of fact, he was a mere adventurer responsible for much of the trouble among the first settlers in Virginia. His account is made up of praise of himself and unfair criticism of his fellows. Perhaps it was no misfortune to

Jamestown when an injury forced him to return to England for medical treatment. He was never again employed by the Virginia Company.

The Starving Time. — In 1609 another charter was granted, giving Virginia much larger boundaries; and 500

new settlers were sent to Jamestown. A leading historian says that they were "a worthless set picked up in the streets of London or taken from the jails, and utterly unfit to

¹ When provisions scarce at Jamestown, Smith entered the country of the Indians. For beads, other trinkets, and knives he was able to get a supply of much needed corn. On an exploring trip he was captured by a party of natives, who brought him before their great chief Powhatan'. In his second account of the Virginia settlement, Smith says that he had been condemned to die and that the club of a warrior was already raised to brain him, when the chief's daughter, Pocahontas, threw herself upon Smith to shield him from the intended blow. and saved his life.



VIRGINIA BY THE CHARTER OF 16092

In his first account of the Virginia settlement Smith did not mention this interesting incident. Some historians believe that this was because it had never really happened. Pocahontas, who often visited Jamestown, afterward married John Rolfe, one of the planters, and with him went to England, where she died.

² Extending four hundred miles along the coast, and thence "west and northwest" from sea to sea.

become the founders of a state in the New World." At the end of six months only sixty of this band were alive. Nevertheless, others continued to come, and for several years the awful tragedy went on. The winter of 1609–1610 was long remembered as "the starving time." The famished and fever-stricken survivors at length decided to leave the horrible place and had actually sailed down the James River when, in June, 1610, they met Lord Delaware with ships, supplies, and more men from England. They at once returned to their forsaken hovels. After Lord Delaware returned to England, Sir Thomas Dale acted as governor. He was followed by Sir Thomas Gates, who brought 300 emigrants and removed most of the settlers from Jamestown to a more healthful location.

Dale's Laws. — During this period there was adopted a set of regulations known as Dale's Laws, though the harsh governor did not prepare them. It is easy to perceive in this code a spirit of religious intolerance. One object was to exclude Catholics from the colony. Among other things it was provided that all newly landed emigrants should visit the minister and satisfy him of the correctness of their religious opinions or receive a daily flogging until they did so.² All were required to be present each day at religious service.

Private Property. — When the first settlers came to Virginia, they were merely servants of the Company. No man owned any land, or even any farming implements. All worked upon the land of the Company, and what was raised by their united labor was put into a common storehouse. The idle and the infirm received, no doubt, as great a share as the strong and industrious. When Gov-

 $^{^{1}}$ McMaster. Later, however, there arrived many knights and nobles of every rank.

² Channing, A History of the United States, I, 181-183.

ernor Dale came, all were still required to work for the Company, but he allowed them the privilege of working also for themselves on a few acres.

Prosperity came only with the cultivation of tobacco. At that time large quantities were used in England, but all of it was of Spanish production. This was changed by John Rolfe, the husband of the Indian girl Pocohontas. In some way he had learned how to prepare the plant for the European market, and in 1616 a shipment from his plantation brought a good price in London. Thereafter the early history of Virginia was closely bound up with the growing of tobacco. Indeed, tobacco was used as the actual money of the colony.

The First American Legislature. — In 1619, Governor George Yeardley arrived in Jamestown. There were then about 4000 inhabitants living in eleven "boroughs" or settlements; therefore a new system of government was needed. Acting under the advice of the Company, the governor ordered each settlement to elect two representatives or burgesses to an assembly. On July 30, 1619, they met in the little wooden church at Jamestown. At this first session of the House of Burgesses, as the assembly was called, Dale's cruel laws were either modified or overlooked. This was the beginning of self-government in America.

Introduction of Negro Slavery. — In 1619 the captain of a vessel, said to have been a Dutch man-of-war, sailed up the James River and in exchange for provisions sold twenty negroes to the planters. Their labor was found to be very profitable in the cultivation of tobacco. As its production increased, slavery grew and in time extended to all the English colonies.

The Coming of Women. — As early as the year 1608 there were a few women in the colony and some mar-

riages are mentioned. Still a great many of the settlers were bachelors, and to bind them more closely to Virginia the Company shrewdly decided to send over some maidens for wives. In 1619 about ninety young women of good



SLAVE CULTIVATING TOBACCO

character arrived at Jamestown. The expense of bringing them over was equally divided. The planter who took a wife paid in tobacco currency the charges against her. The result of this experiment, which was repeated a few years later, was just what the Company had expected. At first there was noticeable an improvement in social life. Later it was seen that men became more industrious, for they had wives and children to work for. They

likewise became more contented and most of them soon ceased to think of returning to England.

Indian Massacre. — The Indians greeted the first settlers with a shower of arrows; but in time relations with them became somewhat cordial. Powhatan, chief of the James River Indians, showed friendship for John Smith. As the cultivation of tobacco continued, it was natural

for the settlers to take up the rich lands along the James. Next they cut down some of the forests and in a little while seized the corn fields of the natives. This injury was resented by the Indians. Powhatan had died in 1619. His brother, who succeeded him, was no friend of the whites. A quarrel between a settler and a native gave a pretense for hostilities. The Indians planned the complete destruction of the English, and might have met with success, but for the warning of a native convert. The attack began March 22, 1622, while the people were at work in the fields. About one tenth of the entire population, 347 men, women, and children, were slaughtered in a single day.

Notwithstanding this awful calamity the planters resumed their work and showed no sign of their purpose to punish the savages. Spring came and went, and the length of a long summer passed before they took the field against the enemy. Then they attacked the Indians with sudden fury, killed many, dispersed others in the forests, and destroyed both the villages of the natives and their food supply for the winter. These pitiless measures made peace for more than twenty years. In 1644 the same chief led another attack. At that time he was killed, while most of his followers were scattered forever.

Virginia a Royal Province. — In its last years the Virginia Company was managed by men of ability. Nevertheless, before the great Indian massacre there were in the colony only 1200 Englishmen. During three years nearly 3000 persons had died of starvation. This was a ground for criticism of the Company. Their establishment of self-government, too, was an offense that King James would not overlook. In 1623 he demanded the surrender of their charter, which was afterward annulled. From the year 1624 Virginia was a royal province ruled by gov-

ernors sent out by the King, but the people were allowed to retain the House of Burgesses.

An Unpopular Royal Governor.—As the warriors of 1644 had forgotten their terrible punishment for the massacre of 1622, so their descendants, in 1675, did not remember the rough treatment of 1644; therefore the tribes



THE OLD TOWER AT JAMESTOWN
(The church itself was rebuilt in 1907)

on the frontier grew troublesome. It is said that Berkeley, the governor appointed by King Charles II,¹ was himself a trader with the Indians, and did little to protect the settlers. They decided, therefore, to take measures for their own defense.

Bacon's Rebellion.— Nathaniel Bacon made himself a leader of the planters, raised troops, and marched against the Indians, whom he punished. Berkeley proclaimed him a traitor

for raising an army without authority. Seeing that his life was forfeited, Bacon used his troops against the governor, whom he defeated and drove from Jamestown,

¹ King James I died in 1625 and was succeeded by his son Charles I, who quarreled with the English Parliament. In the civil war that followed, Parliament was victorious. Charles I was tried for treason, and beheaded (1649). For many years England was a kind of republic, under the control of Cromwell. Soon after Cromwell's death, however, the throne was given back to Charles II, the oldest son of Charles I. This event, which took place in 1660, was called the "Restoration."

and lest the place should again fall into the hands of this official it was burned. In the midst of his success Bacon fell sick and died. Without a commander his men were easily dispersed. Berkeley then put thirty of them to death. This harsh treatment of Bacon's followers drew from King Charles II the exclamation, "The old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father!" Berkeley was recalled.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What kind of company was chartered in April, 1606, by King James I? What rights accompanied an English colonist when he settled in America? Who was Edward Maria Wingfield? What is said of Captain John Smith? Relate the story of Pocahontas. When was the "starving time" in Virginia? How did the principle of private property affect the settlement?

How was the House of Burgesses made up, and what is its great

importance in American history?

When and in what manner was negro slavery introduced into Virginia? Describe the relations of the English and Indians. What ground of complaint had the natives? When was Virginia made a royal province? Give an account of Bacon's Rebellion.

References. — Channing, A History of the United States, Vol. I; John Esten Cooke, Virginia (American Commonwealths); Alexander Brown, The Genesis of the United States; Thwaites, The Colonies (Epochs of American History, Vol. I.); John A. Doyle, The English

Colonists in America, Vol. I.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

The success of the London Company has been told in the chapter on Virginia. As early as 1607 the Plymouth Company attempted unsuccessfully to found a colony at the mouth of the Kennebec. In 1620 the merchant adventurers of Plymouth were reorganized into a new company known as the Council for New England, which was granted an immense tract of land. The first English colony on the New England coast, however, was planted not by men interested in exploration or in commerce, but by men seeking an asylum in which they could worship God in their own way.

The Pilgrims. — By the close of Elizabeth's reign, 1603. the religious faith of a great majority of the English people was very different from the religion of her grandfather, Henry VII. Yet there were within the Established Church of England many who thought still other changes should be made. At the coming of King James I they had grown so numerous that they had a majority of members in the House of Commons. These radicals in religion were known as Puritans. The Pilgrims or Separatists had gone even farther than the Puritans, for they had left the national church. When James came to the throne, in 1603, the Separatists had been reduced by persecution to the single congregation at Gainsborough, together with a few members of the same sect at the near-by hamlet of Scrooby. It is in the fortunes of these persecuted people that we are interested.

The Separatists in Holland. — In 1608 the Separatists of Scrooby made their way to Amsterdam, in Holland. After living there for a year they removed to Leyden (lī'den), where they prospered because of their honesty, intelligence, and industry. Though they could not complain of their treatment by the Dutch, they resolved to leave Leyden. Their sons had begun to enlist in the army and navy of Holland; they were beginning to speak the Dutch language, and, it was feared, they might imitate the Dutch in their observance of the Sabbath. In a word, they would melt into the population around them, and in a little while cease to be Englishmen. Besides, Spain was beginning a war, and Leyden might soon be attacked.

These were the influences that turned the Pilgrims' thoughts to America.

THE PLYMOUTH COLONY

Voyage of the Mayflower.— Late in July, 1620, the Separatists had nearly completed their



THE MAYFLOWER

preparations for going to America. The Speedwell was to take the company to Southampton and thence accompany the Mayflower across the Atlantic. Delays wasted the precious summer months, and it was not till September 6, 1620, that the Mayflower took her departure alone, carrying 102 settlers. A birth and a death were the chief events

of a rough voyage. On November 20 land was seen. Weeks were spent in exploring the coast to find a suitable location for a settlement, and on December 21 the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.¹

The Mayflower Compact. — It should be remembered that the company left England with the idea of settling somewhere in the territory of the Virginia Company, but the captain of the Mayflower took them much farther to the north. Before allowing anyone to go ashore the leaders required all to meet in the cabin of the Mayflower, where there was prepared an agreement, which is believed to have been signed by every adult male. Its chief provisions were the following:

- 1. They declared themselves the loyal subjects of King James.
- 2. The voyage, undertaken for the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith and the honor of their king and country, was for the purpose of planting a colony in the northern parts of Virginia. The better to promote these objects they combined themselves into a corporation.
- 3. By this agreement it was possible to make from time to time such just and equal laws as should be thought most suitable for the general good of the colony.
 - 4. To the laws thus made they promised obedience.

Immediately after signing the compact Mr. John Carver was chosen governor. For many years the laws were passed, and public questions settled, by the whole adult population in town meeting.

The "Wild New England Shore." — After landing at Plymouth, the able-bodied men began to build houses. During January and February this work advanced slowly. Lack of medicine, of proper shelter, and even of food

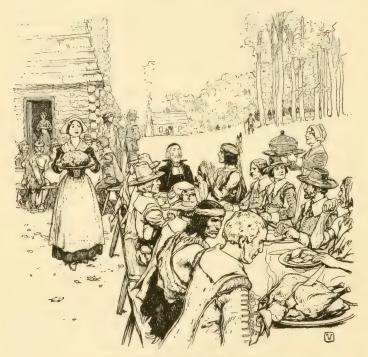
¹ In a map drawn by Captain John Smith, who had explored that coast long before, the place was called Plymouth.

told severely upon the health of the laborers. At one time only seven well men could be found in the settlement. Among these were Elder Brewster and Captain Miles Standish, two of the most celebrated men in the colony. Governor Carver died early in April and was followed in office by William Bradford, who at different times for more than thirty years ably managed the affairs of the settlement. At last the cheerful days of spring brought relief to the stricken people, but by that time half their number had died.

Relations with the Indians. — Relations with the Indians were generally friendly. The natives were paid for both land and corn. In March, 1621, an Indian named Sam'oset appeared in their midst and welcomed them in the English tongue. He told them of Tisquantum (Squanto), who had visited England in one of the fishing vessels. Together they used their influence to establish friendly relations with Mas'sasoit, chief of the Wampano'ags. The treaty made with the chief Massasoit was faithfully kept for more than fifty years. Squanto showed the colonists where game was most abundant and where the best fish could be taken; also how to fertilize their cornhills. They greatly feared the loss of their seed corn, but he assured them that it was safe to plant when the leaves of the oak became as large as a mouse's ear.

The First Thanksgiving Day. — After the severe winter had passed, sickness became less frequent and by autumn good health blessed the settlement. The crops had been very satisfactory; the houses were in good condition; materials had been collected for other buildings, and a great quantity of furs was stored for shipment to England. Fish abounded in the bay and sea fowl along the shore. Both deer and wild turkeys were plentiful in the forests. Now that their harvest was gathered the Pilgrims decided

to have a period of recreation and thanksgiving. An invitation was sent to Massasoit, who attended with ninety of his people. The Indians indulged in the amusements



THE FIRST THANKSGIVING DINNER

of their race, while the English, under Captain Miles Standish, performed a military drill for the entertainment of their guests. Thus, in the autumn of 1621, was begun the great New England festival of Thanksgiving.

Common Property Abolished. — For the first seven years there was no private ownership of land in Plymouth. As early as 1623, however, there was given to each house-

hold a small parcel of land, not as a permanent possession but merely for present use. This change not only encouraged industry among the men but had the effect of gaining them the assistance of the women and children. The little colony paid off its debts, and grew slowly and steadily. A patent for a large tract was obtained from the Council for New England (map, page 79), and the colony gave or sold land to the settlers.

MASSACHUSETTS

The Coming of the Puritans. — King Charles I was determined to suppress the Puritans, who wished to make reforms in the Church of England. Despairing of any improvement in their condition at home, many of the Puritans resolved to go to America. In 1628 some merchants and country gentlemen formed the Massachusetts Bay Company. It bought from the Council for New England a tract of land between points three miles south of "any or every part" of the Charles River, and three miles north of "any or every part" of the Merrimac River, and extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. In June, 1628, the company sent out a small party of emigrants under John Endicott, who conducted them to Naum'keag, where a few English were already living. At first these questioned the rights of the newcomers, but before long the dispute was arranged to the satisfaction of both parties. In memory of this event Endicott changed the name of the place to Salem, the Hebrew word for peaceful.

The Massachusetts Charter. — The men of the Massachusetts Bay Company soon secured from King Charles I a charter making them a corporation known as the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." This charter, which was very liberal, must have

surprised the Puritans. It enabled the company to make all laws necessary for the government of the colony, provided they were not contrary to the laws of England. Moreover, it confirmed the generous grant of land given by the Council for New England.

Twelve of the most influential members of the company made a written agreement binding themselves to emigrate with their families to New England if they could take the charter with them and transfer the meeting place of the Company from England to the colony. When it was found that this could lawfully be done, the charter was turned over to those who intended to emigrate, and John Winthrop was elected governor.



STREET IN SALEM IN THE EARLY DAYS

Boston Settled. — In June, 1630, a fleet of eleven ships brought nearly 1000 Puritans to Salem harbor. Gloomy tidings greeted Winthrop. During the preceding winter eighty of the colonists had died, and among the survivors there still was much sickness. There was also a great scarcity of food. The immigrants began to lay out new

towns, and before winter there were settlements at Boston, Charlestown, and several other places not far away. By the close of the year 1630 no fewer than 2000 Puritans had come to Massachusetts Bay. Thus was begun the largest colony in New England.

Union of Church and State. — Until the Puritans came to America they were members of the Church of England. Even after their arrival they still pretended to be loyal to that church. When some of the returning settlers accused them of being Separatists, they described the charges as being "false and scandalous." Nevertheless, they were quietly turning their backs on the church which one of their leaders termed "our dear mother." In Salem was founded the first Congregational church.

In October, 1630, the first "General Court" of the Massachusetts Bay Company was held in Boston. Its membership included the governor, deputy governor, eight assistants, and one or two others. It was settled that the "freemen," or members of the company, were to choose the assistants, who in turn were to choose the governor and his deputy. The principal settlers were admitted to the company as "freemen." During 1631, 1632, and 1633, Winthrop was chosen governor. After an interval he was again elected.

Though the great Puritan migration from England was caused by oppression, the Puritans themselves were intolerant and began early to persecute. The "freemen," indeed, could take part in the choice of officials, but none were admitted as freemen unless they were members of some Puritan church. In other words, citizenship was based upon church membership. The Bible was the only law book recognized by the court of assistants, and of this the ministers were thought the best interpreters. In England all freeholders, whether they were members of

the Established Church or were not, had the right to vote, whereas in the Massachusetts Bay colony only members of the Congregational churches possessed that right.

Education in Massachusetts. — From the beginning the Puritans were interested in the elements of learning. For



STATUE OF JOHN HARVARD AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

a time their system of education was one of private instruction. However, they soon established the Boston Latin School, and in 1636 the General Court voted £400 toward "a schoole or Colledge "1 to be built at Newtown. In 1638 John Harvard. a young clergyman, died and, in addition to his library, left "one half his estate, it being in all about £700, for the erecting of the College."1 Because of this generous gift the General Court gave his name to the institution. Newtown, the seat of the college,

was afterward called Cambridge, to keep fresh in the minds of the Furitan leaders the memories of the English college at which many of them had been educated.

Persecution of Quakers. — Massachusetts had not outgrown its intolerance in 1656, when there arrived a number of Friends or Quakers, whose teachings offended the Puri-

¹ In the seventeenth century spelling varied greatly.

tans. Among other opinions they held that war is sinful, that all religious ceremonies are useless or wrong, and that the state has no right to control religion. The first Quakers were banished and warned not to return under penalty of death. In 1659 a Quaker named Robinson went to Boston. Three others followed him, among them a woman, Mary Dyer. Before 1661 all had been hanged on the Common. This excess of intolerance seems to have somewhat softened opinion among the stern Puritans; at any rate, no more Quakers were put to death.

The Salem Witchcraft. — In 1692 the town of Salem, Massachusetts, was terror stricken by fear of witches. Some old or deformed women were accused of being witches, whereupon the governor set up a court for their trial. The daughter and the niece of a Salem minister blamed their Indian servant for some pretended affliction, and they were believed. The craze spread and for a while the new court was busy. These and other girls, who pretended that they had been bewitched, gravely told the judges strange stories. More than one witness claimed that she had been dragged from her bed, lifted into the air and, like the fairy prince on his enchanted horse, hurried for miles over the tree tops. Before the delusion had passed away nineteen innocent persons had been tried and hanged as witches and one had been pressed to death with heavy weights. In Europe as well as in America many communities then believed in witchcraft

Connecticut

Beginnings of Connecticut. — In 1633 the English from Plymouth erected a station at Windsor. Later other settlers entered the Connecticut Valley. In the Massachusetts Bay colony many were dissatisfied with the political system which permitted only members of the Congregational churches to vote or to hold office. Perhaps there was also a feeling that land was more plentiful in the western wilderness. At any rate, in 1635 a few pioneers removed to Windsor and at once took the management of its affairs into their own hands. Others went still farther and began a settlement at Wethersfield. In 1636 the Newtown congregation, guided by its pastor, Rev. Thomas Hooker, made its way across the untraveled country to the Connecticut Valley and founded Hartford.

For a few years these settlements were regarded as part of Massachusetts. In 1639, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield united to form a little republic and made the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." This was the first written constitution prepared in America. The union of towns, which came to be known as Connecticut, marks the beginning of democratic government in our country.¹

New Haven Colony. — In 1638 Reverend John Davenport and others took up their residence near the northern shore of Long Island Sound. Their settlement they called New Haven. Being without a charter, they bought from the Indians a right to the soil. Other towns founded along the shore soon afterwards formed a union with New Haven. This colony protected the enemies of Charles II, who, as a punishment, wiped it off the map by including it in the limits of a charter he granted to Connecticut in 1662.

¹ To Lord Say-and-Sele, Lord Brooke, and others the President of the Council for New England had granted a great tract west of the Narragan-sett River, and far enough to the northward to include the townships that were collectively called Connecticut. This extended westward to the South Sea. In the autumn of 1635 John Winthrop, Jr., a son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, came from England with a commission as governor of the "river Connecticut in New England." He promptly built at the mouth of the Connecticut River a fort which, in honor of the principal grantees, he called Saybrook. This was in the nick of time, for it was hardly finished when a Dutch vessel from New Amsterdam arrived in the river. Finding the English in possession, the Dutch sailed home.

Under that charter Connecticut claimed not only the land now in the state, but also a tract extending westward to the Pacific. So satisfactory were the provisions of this charter that it was kept in force until 1819.

War with the Pequots. — The settlers who went into the Connecticut Valley did not go singly, but by dozens, by scores, and even by congregations. Naturally the presence of white men in large numbers alarmed the natives, especially the Pequots, the leading tribe in Connecticut. Fearing an attack by the Narragansetts, the Pequots had recently sought an alliance with the Massachusetts colony. They agreed to surrender the murderers of some white men and to pay tribute; but afterwards refused to do so. Therefore, in 1636, a military force under John Endicott entered their country, seized some corn, and burned several wigwams. The commander at Saybrook fort and the authorities of Plymouth condemned the action of Massachusetts, for they knew that the Indians would soon be upon the Connecticut settlers, who were innocent.

Before commencing hostilities the Pequots sent messengers to make peace with the Narragansetts, and tried to persuade them to make war on the English. There can be little doubt that they would have done so but for the influence of Roger Williams, who persuaded the Narragansetts to remain neutral.

In the spring of 1637 the Pequots began the war. By May thirty settlers had been killed. Without waiting for the people of Massachusetts, whose conduct had caused the war, Connecticut raised a company of ninety men and put them under the command of Captain John Mason. He was joined by Mohegans, Narragansetts, and a few men from Massachusetts. The Pequots were found in a fort, which they had built in a swamp on the Mystic River, near the southeast corner of Connecticut. The English

surprised them, shot down those who tried to escape, and threw firebrands among the wigwams. In the flames men, women, and children, about 400 in all, were burned to



ATTACK ON THE PEQUOT FORT

death. Attacked by whites and Indians, the remnant of the tribe made their last stand in a swamp near New Haven. There 300 more were either captured or put to death. Their chief, Sas'sacus, took refuge among Mohawks, who cut off his head. As a separate people the Pequots had ceased to exist.

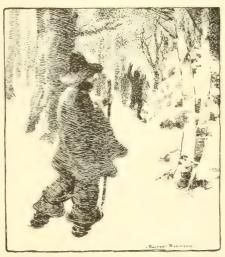
RHODE ISLAND

The Teachings of Roger Williams. — Roger Williams, for several years the minister at Salem, Massachusetts, was the son of a London merchant and a graduate of Cam-

bridge University. In a pamphlet which he wrote, he denied the validity of land titles received from the government of Massachusetts. He taught that the soil belonged to the Indians and could be obtained from them only by purchase. He also questioned the right of the magistrates to punish for Sabbath breaking. For these and similar

opinions it was decided to send him back to England. Williams, who was aware of this purpose, left Salem in midwinter and made his way through the wilderness to the wigwam of Massasoit, whose friendship he had gained.

Providence Settled (1636.)—As the Plymouth officials did not wish to offend the Massachusetts colony,



ROGER WILLIAMS ESCAPES TO THE INDIANS

they suggested that he remove a little farther off. In 1636, with five companions, he settled at a place which he called Providence. The subject of government ought not to have been a troublesome one in so small a hamlet, but soon there was discord. In securing land from the Indians, Williams took the tract in his own name and not for himself and his associates. His failure to include his friends in the ownership caused so much trouble that he was finally compelled to give up most of the land. These facts seem to prove that, at least in the beginning, he had

no purpose to found a state, and further that his friends were less interested in problems of government and religion than in the more practical matter of getting homes and farms.

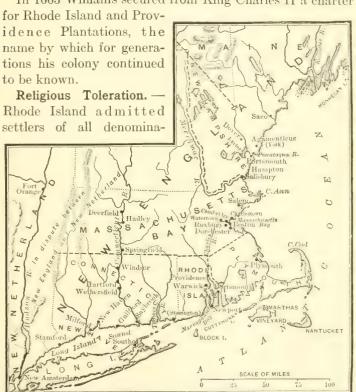
Government of Providence. — In a short time Williams was joined by other members of his Salem congregation. The dozen householders who formed the beginnings of the Providence colony had no charter from the king; nor had they any grant from the Council for New England. In this situation they agreed, in 1640, upon a democratic form of government.

Mrs. Anne Hutchinson; Rhode Island. — In the very month that Williams founded the settlement at Providence, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson arrived in Boston. Because of her kindness she soon won some popularity. From being a critic she became a teacher. She held that the divine spirit dwells in every true believer. The ministers regarded this as a claim to inspiration, threatening an end to all church discipline. After a bitter struggle the government triumphed over the friends of Mrs. Hutchinson, and in 1638 she was banished from the colony. She then joined Williams at Providence, and with her husband and friends made a settlement at Portsmouth, on the island now called Rhode Island.

The Charters of Rhode Island. — Within a few years there were four little colonies in the region of Narragansett Bay. The settlers had no title to the land which they claimed except that of occupation and of purchase from the natives. They were merely squatters and at any moment might be turned out by some favorite of the king or of Parliament. To prevent any such occurrence Williams went to England and in 1643 got from Parliament a patent of incorporation. This empowered the people of Providence and the Rhode Island settlements to govern

themselves, as well as new settlers coming into the colonies, by such a form of civil government as the majority should deem suitable to their condition.

In 1663 Williams secured from King Charles II a charter



THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

tions; but it was not the first colony to do so. As we shall see in a later chapter, the Maryland colony, founded by the Calverts, who were Catholics, was the first to practice religious toleration. Roger Williams, the founder of

Rhode Island, is to be classed with George and Cecil Calvert, his predecessors in the field of religious freedom, and with William Penn, the Quaker, his worthy successor in the following generation.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

In 1622 Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason received from the Council for New England a grant of land between the Merrimac and the Kennebec rivers and from the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence. Next year they made two settlements, at Dover and Piscataqua (Portsmouth). Agriculture being neglected for years, these colonies dragged out a feeble existence. The proprietors later divided their territory.

In 1629, accordingly, Captain Mason received from the Council for New England a new grant for the tract between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers. This region was named New Hampshire in honor of the county of Hampshire, England, of which Mason had been lord lieutenant. Massachusetts also claimed this territory, and in 1636 built a house in the marshes midway between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua. She strengthened her claim in 1641 by settling at Hampton a party of emigrants from England. The people of Dover, who were Puritans, asked to be joined to Massachusetts. The Piscataqua settlers being members of the Church of England opposed this union, but because of conditions were forced to submit. In 1641 the New Hampshire settlements were united with Massachusetts, but in 1679 they were made a separate royal province.

¹ Though a formal act of religious toleration was passed in Rhode Island two years before a similar law was passed by the assembly of Maryland, yet in Calvert's colony religious freedom was established from the first (1634).

² Formerly known as *Laconia*.

MAINE

The first settlements by white men in Maine were made by Catholic Frenchmen, but they were not permanent.¹

When Mason took New Hampshire (1629), Gorges received the territory between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec.² This was called Maine, and in later times extended as far as the river St. Croix. Stations for fishing and fur trading were made at Saco and on Monhegan Island as early as 1623. Other settlements followed, including a trading post of the Plymouth colony, on the Kennebec.

In 1652 the Massachusetts General Court appointed surveyors, who traced the course of the Merrimac as far as the parallel of 43° 40′ 12″. Within a few years commissioners for that colony received the submission of the people of the different settlements in Maine. The heirs of Gorges were left in control of only three towns, and at last in 1677 Massachusetts bought their claims for £1250.3

² In 1639 King Charles I granted Gorges a royal charter confirming his possession of this domain.

¹ As we have seen (page 38), the French during 1604 attempted a settlement on St. Croix Island, also called De Monts or Neutral Island, in eastern Maine. A chapel built by them was attended by Reverend Nicholas Aubry and a companion. This was without doubt the first place of Christian worship in the present state of Maine. In later years other attempts at missionary work were made, but failed because of the hostility of merchants or of proprietors. Finally, in 1613 a station called Saint Saveur (Holy Savior) was established on Mount Desert Island by several priests and others. After a few months it was seized by Samuel Argall, of Virginia. Brother du Thet (tā) was killed during the attack. Father Massé and fourteen Frenchmen were put adrift in an open boat, while Fathers Biard (be-ar') and Quentin (kahn-tan') were carried to Virginia, where Governor Dale threatened them with death. Instead they were to be carried back by Argall, who afterward destroyed Saint Saveur; also the struggling post on St. Croix Island, and the mission at Port Royal. The English vessel carrying the priests was forced by storms across the Atlantic as far as the Azores, whence they sailed for England and at last arrived in France. The fourteen Frenchmen in the open boat were, after much exposure, picked up by French vessels.

³ Maine remained a part of Massachusetts until 1820, when it was made a separate state.

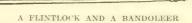
NEW ENGLAND

The United Colonies of New England. — In 1643 Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut entered into a union to protect themselves from the Indians, who were all around them, from the Dutch, who were making visits to the valley of the Connecticut, and from the French, who were settling in Canada. Though this union, the first made by the English in America, was designed to last forever, it existed only forty years. Because Rhode Island was not of the same church fellowship it was not admitted as a member of this early union.

King Philip's War. — The Puritans and the Pilgrims, who in the beginning were poor hunters and unskillful fishermen, in time learned how to take both game and fish. For colored cloth, knives, hatchets, beads, and other articles of little value they received from the Indians large tracts of land. The quantities of game and fish taken from forest and stream, as well as the loss of land, made life harder for the aborigines. The hope of recovering their woods and waters led the natives to listen to a plan of Philip of Pokanoket for destroying the white men. This warrior was a son of Massasoit, who had long been the friend of the Pilgrims. In 1675 he formed a union of his own tribe, the Wampanoags, with the Nipmucks and the Narragansetts.

The war broke out in Rhode Island, but before long spread to Massachusetts and Plymouth. Town after town was taken by the Indians, and men, women, and children were massacred. In the dead of winter a force of one thousand English stormed the great swamp fortress of the Narragansetts in southern Rhode Island, killed a thousand warriors, and burned their wigwams and their winter supply of corn. The Narragansetts were exterminated

and Philip fled to the Nipmucks, who, through the next year, continued the fight. They, too, were doomed. During three years the war dragged on. At least one thousand white men and scores of women and children perished. The savages were fiendish in their cruelty, but



the English were pitiless in their punishment. Tracked to his hiding place, King Philip was overtaken and shot. The power of the New England Indians was broken forever.

Massachusetts Loses Charter (1684). — Massachusetts was instructed by King Charles II to permit the Episcopal form of worship, but paid no attention to his order.

Another offense was her refusal to allow any persons to vote who were not members of the Congregational church. Many people who were not of that fold, resisted the colonial government, and in 1684, at the instance of the king, an English court annulled the charter. The next year Charles II was succeeded by his brother James II, who was equally determined to govern Massachusetts as a royal province.

The Rule of Andros. — Partly for the purpose of defense against the French, who were becoming numerous in Canada, King James II resolved to unite all the northern plantations and put them under a single ruler. This official, Sir Edmund Andros, had his headquarters in Boston.

¹ This included not only all the New England provinces but New York and New Jersey.

He had been directed to seize the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but had failed. When he visited Hartford, in 1687, he could not find the charter, for it had been hidden in a hollow oak. From that time forth this tree was known as the Charter Oak.

During the control of Andros the people of Boston were given much cause for complaint, and even without any revolution in England they probably would have risen up against him. James II was a Catholic, but the great majority of the English people were Protestants, who made such opposition that in 1688 the king fled to France. England welcomed his nephew and son-in-law, William III, who was crowned with his wife Mary. Hearing of the great events in England, the people of Boston threw Andros into prison and restored the old government. The new sovereigns, William and Mary, allowed Connecticut and Rhode Island to keep their old charters, and gave a new charter to Massachusetts, which was extended to include Plymouth and Maine. New Hampshire they kept a separate province.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What influence planted the first colony in New England? Give an account of the Pilgrims. What caused them to leave Holland? What was the *Mayflower Compact?* Name some of the early leaders in the Plymouth colony. How was local government managed? Tell the story of the first Thanksgiving Day.

Who were the Puritans? What settlements were made by them? What is said of the charter granted by Charles I to the Massachusetts Bay Company? By whom was Boston settled? What was the Puritan attitude toward the Established Church after they came to America? Who were the freemen in Massachusetts Bay? When was Harvard College founded? What is said of the Salem witchcraft?

Describe the first settlements in the Connecticut Valley and tell how they came to be made. When was the first written constitution prepared in America? When was New Haven founded? Why was it fortunate for the English that they settled Saybrook just when they did? How did Roger Williams serve the Connecticut colonists? When did the Pequot war break out and what was the result? Why did Charles II punish New Haven, and how?

How did Roger Williams offend the authorities of Massachusetts? Whither did he go? What form of government did his followers establish? What settlements were made by Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends? What did Williams succeed in doing in the year 1643? For what does he stand in history?

What two men made settlements in New Hampshire? What colony claimed the same territory? Who received the land between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec? What name did it receive? What was the character of the settlements? When did Maine become a part of Massachusetts?

What union was formed in 1643? State the cause, the progress, and the result of King Philip's War. Why did the king annul the charter of Massachusetts? Describe the rule of Andros.

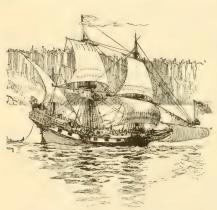
References. — Thwaites, The Colonies (Epochs of American History, Vol. I); Channing, A History of the United States, Vol. I; William Bradford, History of the Plymouth Plantation; John Fiske, The Beginnings of New England; Alexander Johnston, Connecticut (American Commonwealths); Richman, Rhode Island (American Commonwealths); Sanborn, New Hampshire (American Commonwealths); Fisher, The Colonial Era.

CHAPTER VII

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

NEW NETHERLAND

Hudson's Exploration. — Early in the seventeenth century the States-General, the lawmaking body of the Dutch Republic, offered 25,000 guilders to the one who would find a northeast passage to China and Japan. This in-



THE HALF MOON ON THE HUDSON, OPPOSITE THE PALISADES

ducement led some merchants of Amsterdam to fit out the *Half Moon*, a small ship with a crew of sixteen. Henry Hudson, the English commander of this little vessel, sailed for the Arctic Ocean in April, 1609. Something like a mutiny among the members of his crew led him to leave that region of snow and ice.

In September, 1609, Hudson arrived off

New York Bay. Entering the bay, the *Half Moon* lay at anchor for a week. At the end of that time the explorers sailed up the river past Manhattan, along the Palisade rocks, and anchored opposite the site of West Point. Here there was some trade with the Indians, a few of whom they shot for attempting to steal. The crew resumed their exploration

and, finding the water growing shallow, the mate in a boat went up as far as where Troy now stands. Afterward the *Half Moon* dropped down the great river (now called the Hudson). In a short time Hudson was again in England, whence his vessel sailed for Holland.

Adrian Block. — Dutch merchants immediately took advantage of the reported riches of the new country. Many ships crossed the Atlantic and returned laden with furs. Christiansen, who made ten voyages to the Hudson River, built a trading post on Castle Island, now in the city of Albany. These traders did not fail to visit the Manahattas and carefully to note the resources of their island. Adrian Block, who had come out in the *Tiger* in 1612, built the *Onrust* (Restless) in America, and in it sailed by way of the East River, through "Helder-Gat," into Long Island Sound. On his map this explorer noted the Fresh River (Connecticut), Rood Island, and Block Island, which still bears his name.

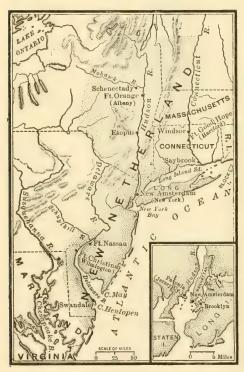
New Netherland. — The country re-discovered by Hudson was officially named New Netherland. It included the territory between the Connecticut and Susquehanna rivers; was especially rich in furs; contained several deep rivers and many fine harbors. After a few years the Dutch government gave the control of this region to the great Dutch West India Company. Strange to say, the first settlers to come to America from Holland were not Dutch but Walloons, a French-speaking people who, like the English Pilgrims, had gone to Holland to obtain religious freedom.

One of them, Jesse de Forest, asked and received from the States-General permission to enroll settlers for New Netherland. He brought together thirty-one families in Leyden, from which the Pilgrims had taken their depar-

¹ Rood is pronounced by the Dutch as if it were spelled Rode,

ture for America not long before. After some delay, the Walloons were taken to New Netherland in the spring of 1623.

First Settlements in New Netherland. — Eighteen of the settlers were left on Manhattan. This was the be-



NEW NETHERLAND

Avesnes (ah-vān'), which was soon called New Amsterdam. Many families settled on the site of the future city of Albany, where they built Fort Orange.

Early Dutch Governors. — The first governor was Peter Min'uit, a scholarly gentleman of Huguenot ancestry. On his arrival he called together the Indian chiefs and for about twenty-four dollars' worth of supplies bought from them the island of Manhattan.

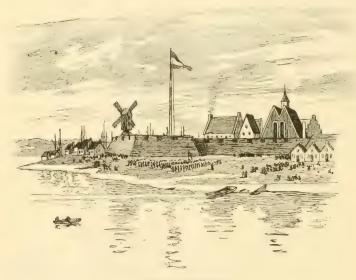
A military engineer planned an earthwork, which was named Fort Amsterdam.

Minuit was succeeded by Walter van Twiller. From the first he was compelled to face grave difficulties. By reason of Block's exploration the Dutch claimed the land west of the Connecticut River. They had bought large tracts from the natives, and about 1632 they built a fort on the site of Hartford. Notwithstanding this fact, the English in great numbers poured into the valley. Though Van Twiller asked permission to drive them out, the government of Holland ordered him to keep the peace. Under him the colony enjoyed prosperity; but in 1637 he was removed from office.

The Patroons. — The Dutch, who enjoyed at home not only religious freedom but much material prosperity, came slowly to New Netherland. In 1630, after reserving Manhattan, the West India Company issued a charter of "Privileges and Exemptions." This allowed a private person to take up a tract of land with a frontage of sixteen miles along the bank of a navigable river, or, if preferred, a front of eight miles on each side of the river. For this privilege he was required to plant within four years a colony of fifty adult settlers. This made him a patroon on a manor and gave him rights similar to those enjoyed by a lord in earlier times. For ten years the settlers could not leave the patroon because they were bound to service for that term. If they attempted to escape, they were treated as runaways, arrested, and brought back by force. . For the term of their service, however, they were free from taxes, and at the end of that period were encouraged to seek homesteads for themselves.

William Kieft. — The capable Van Twiller was followed in office by William Kieft. Though not without energy, the new governor was a tyrant. His policy drove the Indian into a war that brought bloodshed and wretchedness to the people in the southern part of the province. After an unfortunate rule of ten years Kieft was replaced by Peter Stuyvesant (sti've-sant).

Peter Stuyvesant. — The new governor did not arrive in New Amsterdam until 1647. He had little sympathy with free institutions; at one time he forbade popular pastimes at Easter and Christmas. In an effort to tax the people he was opposed. The leader of the opposition was thrown into prison. The people then asked the States-General to rule New Netherland and begged for New



NEW AMSTERDAM

Amsterdam a city government. The Company opposed the granting of these petitions. Nevertheless, municipal government was proclaimed in 1653. That date marks the beginning of an era of prosperity not only for New Amsterdam but for all New Netherland. However, the credit for this condition does not belong to Stuyvesant but rather to the popular leaders.

New Sweden. — As early as 1638 Peter Minuit brought out for Queen Christina, of Sweden, fifty colonists whom he settled in what is now Delaware. The Swedish colony grew slowly. The Dutch, on the other hand, were trying to establish themselves near the site of the future city of Philadelphia. This rivalry was certain to cause hostilities. The Company ordered Stuyvesant to drive out the Swedes. With a large fleet and a force of 700 men he arrived in Delaware Bay in the autumn of 1655. Without shedding a drop of blood the Swedish forts were immediately taken. The colonists were left free either to remain where they were, under Dutch rule, or return to Europe. Most of them agreed to remain.

English Conquest of New Netherland. — Though Stuyvesant conquered New Sweden, it was at a heavy expense, and in the end his victory assisted in the fall of New Netherland itself. An Indian outbreak in 1655 recalled him from the South River, as the Delaware was then called. The war continued, at intervals, for nine years. Stuyvesant's military ability at last forced the red men to make peace, but meanwhile the growth of the Dutch colony was slow.

As far back as 1648 Holland had made a treaty of peace with Spain. This deprived the West India Company of much of its income, for its long career of prosperity resulted from the plunder of Spanish treasure ships. Not only was the Company ruined by the treaty but all Holland was reduced to a state of distress. The passage, in 1651, of the English Navigation Act was another severe blow to Dutch commerce. This law required that all goods im-

¹ For the theft of a few peaches an angry Dutchman had shot a squaw. After this the savages, to the number of about 2000, landed on Manhattan, killed the murderer and another white man and then crossed the river to New Jersey. In that region and in Staten Island they killed or captured 250 Dutch settlers.

ported into England must be brought in English ships. New Netherland was no longer able to meet its expenses, and at home the company itself was on the verge of bank-ruptcy.

The weakness of New Netherland being well known to the English, King Charles II sent four warships to New Amsterdam. Soldiers and marines, from New England as well as from old England, were landed on August 26, 1664. Later the vessels sailed up and took positions opposite the fort, prepared to open fire. In this situation no defense was possible, and Governor Stuyvesant, much against his will, was forced by the leading Dutch settlers to surrender the town.¹

NEW YORK

The New Netherland colony had been given by Charles II to his brother James, then Duke of York and Albany. The greater part of New Netherland was now renamed New York, and the same name was given to New Amsterdam. The first English governor of this colony was Colonel Nicolls.²

Governor Dongan. — In 1682 the Duke of York selected an Irish Catholic, Colonel Thomas Dongan, to govern the province of New York. Governor Dongan called the first representative assembly, which met in the fall of 1683. Under his guidance this body passed an act called "A Charter of Liberties." It gave the lawmaking power, under the Duke, to a governor, a council, and the people gathered in general assembly.

¹ Though New Netherland was taken by the English in 1664, it was recaptured by the Dutch in 1673 and not till 1674 did it become a permanent possession of the English.

² Governor Nicolls prepared a code known as the "Duke's Laws." These were even less liberal than the laws of the Dutch West India Company. Under the new regulations the people were not allowed to choose their officers or to have a voice in laying the taxes that they were compelled to pay.

In addition this remarkable law permitted every freeholder and freeman to vote for representatives; it provided that no freeman should suffer under the law except by the judgment of his equals; that every trial at law

should be by a jury of twelve men; that no taxes could be laid but by the consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier could be quartered upon the people against their will; that martial law should not prevail; and finally that no person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ should be questioned for any difference of opinion.

This famous charter, passed almost one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, contains most of



GOVERNOR DONGAN

the rights and privileges for which the War of the Revolution was afterward fought. Dongan signed the Charter of Liberties on the 30th of October, 1683, and on the next day proclaimed it at the New York City Hall. The Duke signed and sealed the charter in the course of the following year, but never returned it.

Achievements and Plans of Dongan. — Dongan fixed part of the present boundaries of New York by settling disputes with Connecticut on the east, with the French on the north, and with Pennsylvania on the south. In 1684 at Albany he made a treaty with Indian chiefs in which the Iroquois acknowledged themselves subjects of the Great Sachem Charles. He thus adopted the wise policy which kept the Five Nations friendly to the English and

made them a tower of strength against the French. In 1685 he established a post office in New York to improve the welfare of the English colonies, and in the following year he granted charters to the cities of New York and Albany.¹

The Coming of Andros. — In the meanwhile the Duke of York had become King James II. In 1687 he dissolved the assembly of New York and sent out Andros to rule not only New York and New Jersey but all New England. This action deprived Dongan of his governorship.² When Andros made his headquarters in Boston, he left Lieutenant-Governor Francis Nicholson to manage the affairs of New York. At that time there were in the province two parties. One, the aristocratic, included the patroons, many rich merchants, and the officers appointed by the king. Opposed to them were small traders, small farmers and artisans, who formed the strength of the popular party. The aristocratic party contained many Episcopalians, the other was made up of men from the newer Protestant sects.

¹ The charter granted to New York, which is the basis of its present city government, remained in force for one hundred and thirty-five years; that given to Albany was set aside only in 1870. In New York, Governor Dongan established a college under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, and advised that land be set apart for its support, but the king vetoed the grant Dongan planned the founding of a mission of English Jesuits at Saratoga, and a settlement of Irish Catholics in the central part of the province. Not less important was his scheme for sending an expedition to explore the Mississippi River and to occupy the valley. These farseeing plans were disapproved by the King.

² Refusing an offer of the rank of major general, Dongan retired to his estate on Staten Island. There the persecution stirred up by Leisler discovered him, and notwithstanding his services he was compelled to flee from the new ruler of the colony. In 1691 he returned to England. Seven years later he became the second Earl of Limerick. In 1715 he died in London. Perhaps no greater statesman was ever appointed to rule an English colony. Unfortunately for his fame he served a master of narrow views.

Jacob Leisler. — In New York, Nicholson was suspected of being a Catholic, while the aristocratic party generally was accused of a design to betray the city into the hands of the French. It was in these circumstances that Jacob Leisler called out the militia, seized the fort, and drove Nicholson from the city. He soon dispersed the council and set up a government of his own. He first threw into prison members of the opposite party and then seized their property.

Tidings of Leisler's lawless conduct reached the ears of King William III, who sent out Governor Sloughter with a small armed force to take charge of the province and restore order. Leisler was tried for treason, convicted, and

hanged.

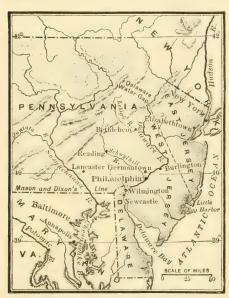
William's Harsh Rule. — In due time King William gave to the royal province of New York a form of government modeled on that of England. Under him the laws in nearly all the colonies were strictly enforced, and, if his colonial policy is compared with that of earlier kings, one must conclude that-his rule was despotic:

NEW JERSEY

"The Jerseys."—While the four English warships were on their way to New Netherland (1664), the Duke of York conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret the large tract between the lower Hudson and the Delaware. Sir George had gallantly defended the island of Jersey in the English Channel, and in honor of his victory the grant was named New Jersey. Berkeley and Carteret divided the grant between them and encouraged colonists to come from England. They promised liberty of conscience and generous allowances of land.

¹ On some of the old copper coins of the colony the inscription was *Nova Caesaria*, the Latin form for New Jersey.

Under Governor Carteret. — In 1665 Philip Carteret, a relative of Sir George, came to the colony as governor. During the following year there arrived from New England many settlers who received lands in East Jersey, near Newark. Naturally they established in their new homes the system of government with which they were familiar



NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, AND EASTERN
PENNSYLVANIA

in New England. This was not pleasing to the proprietors, to the Duke of York, or to King Charles, for the New Englanders were opposed to monarchs in general. In 1668 the first lawmaking body of New Jersey met at Elizabethtown (Elizabeth).

Under the Quakers.—In 1674 Berkeley, whose portion of the grant was called West Jersey, sold his interests to some wealthy Quakers, who settled near

Burlington and encouraged religious toleration. Two years afterward William Penn, of whom we shall hear more, united with other members of the same sect to buy East Jersey. There were thus two colonies, East Jersey and West Jersey, until 1702, when the proprietors surrendered their rights, and New Jersey became a single royal province.

PENNSYLVANIA

Persecution in England. — When New Netherland was taken by the English, its nearest neighbor on the south was the English colony of Maryland, which had been founded by the Calverts as a refuge for persecuted Catholics. Many years later Pennsylvania was settled by persecuted Quakers. The Catholic and the Quaker proprietaries differed from the Puritan leaders in that Maryland and Pennsylvania gave freedom of worship to all. In England the lot of the Quaker was not much better than that of the Catholic.

William Penn. — One of the chief founders of the Society of Friends or Quakers was William Penn, a son of

Admiral Sir William Penn, an officer of no small reputation. Admiral Penn was a friend of Charles II, to whom he had loaned £16,000. The younger Penn received a good education in Oxford University and while there came under the influence of a Quaker minister. On his return home he was beaten by the Admiral and turned out of doors for having changed his religious belief.



WILLIAM PENN

His father then sent him to Paris hoping that in its gay life he would lose some of the seriousness that he had acquired at Oxford. On going home to London he made no secret of his faith and so ably did he defend his rights that his father not only forgave him but agreed to pay his debts.

Pennsylvania and its Boundaries. — We have already seen that William Penn was interested in the Quaker

settlements made in New Jersey. Because of debts due him and his father, by the Crown, Penn petitioned King Charles II to grant him land beyond the Delaware and to the north of Maryland in order that the Friends might try experiments in government under conditions more favorable than was possible in the Jerseys. The King gave him a large tract, and named it Pennsylvania, or "Penn's Woodland," in honor of Penn's father. Later the King's brother James, Duke of York, added his own claim to the region west and south of Delaware Bay. These grants gave Penn some of the land that had been claimed by the Calverts for fifty years. The dispute over the boundary will be noticed in the following chapter, on the Southern Colonies. It is enough to state here that the matter was not finally settled until 1767, when two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, located the southern boundary of Pennsylvania at 39° 40' and also fixed the boundaries of Delaware.

Philadelphia. — Long before William Penn brought his colonists to America there were Swedes, Dutch, and English settlers living upon his grant. In the year 1681 he sent out his cousin, William Markham, to rule those inhabitants, and during the following year Penn himself with about one hundred emigrants sailed for Delaware. He landed at the Swedish settlement of Upland, a name which he changed to Chester. Farther up the river, where the Schuylkill flows into the Delaware, he decided to build his capital city, which he named after the Greek city of Philadelphia, in Asia Minor. Philadelphia grew apace and by 1685 it had a population of 2000. Its name means "Brotherly Love."

Government of Pennsylvania. — In a little while the English formed no more than half the population of Pennsylvania. Other settlers came from the German states, from

Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The French element was also important. Within a hundred years Pennsylvania had as many inhabitants as Massachusetts, and was surpassed by Virginia only. This prosperity was due not only to the fine climate and the splendid resources of the province, but to the wise laws that were enacted and to the friendly relations which its proprietor established with the Indians.



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

From the beginning Penn insisted upon fair dealing with the natives. Soon after he received his charter he wrote to the Indian chiefs informing them of his good intentions. After his arrival in the colony he renewed his promises and entered into arrangements with them for the purchase of land. This was bought with wampum, looking-glasses, blankets, and shoes.

In an important respect Penn's colony differed from Virginia and Massachusetts. There is no record of the marked intolerance in religious matters of which we read in the history of the first English settlements. In this view William Penn is to be ranked with the Calverts and Roger Williams as a wise and generous ruler. Penn also

did his best to provide good government for his colony. As proprietor he appointed the governor, but the legislature was elected by the people.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — When did Hudson arrive off New York Bay? Describe his exploration of the Hudson River. What brought the Dutch to the country explored by Hudson? When did the families under Jesse de Forest arrive in America? How many were left on Manhattan Island? What was the effect of Kieft's rule? Describe his Indian policy. When did Stuyvesant arrive? When were the people given a city government? Does Stuyvesant deserve credit for the prosperity that blessed the colony? What conquest was made by the Dutch in 1654–55? What act led to war with the Indians? How had Holland been accustomed to raise money for expenses of government? Describe the English conquest of New Netherland.

In honor of what event did New Jersey get its name? What inducements were made to attract settlers? In what part of the colony did New Englanders settle? When did Berkeley dispose of his share of West Jersey? Who purchased East Jersey? When did New Jersey become a royal province?

Of what society was William Penn a member? How did he obtain land in America and for what purpose did he acquire it? What is meant by Mason and Dixon's line? What is said of Pennsylvania's chief city? What non-English settlers came to the colony? In the matter of religious toleration compare Pennsylvania with Virginia and Massachusetts.

References. — William Elliot Griffis, New Netherland; Roberts, New York (American Commonwealths), Vol. I; Thwaites, The Colonies (Epochs of American History, Vol. I); Channing, A History of the United States, Vol. I; George P. Fisher, The Colonial Era; Doyle, The English Colonies in America; Sidney George Fisher, The True William Penn.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES1

MARYLAND

Lord Baltimore in America. — In 1627 George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, visited Av'alon, a settlement which he had attempted to make in Newfoundland. In the course of the next year he removed to the colony with his wife and all his children except his son Cecilius. The settlers,

were annoyed by French warships, though in the fighting that followed the English won undoubted advantages. A Puritan minister, Reverend Mr. Stourton, returned to England to complain that Calvert had brought "Popish" priests into Avalon and that mass was said there every Sunday. But an enemy more to be feared than the French or the Puritans was

then about one hundred in number.



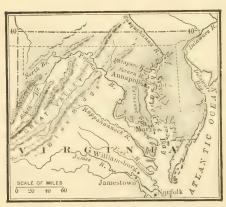
GEORGE CALVERT

the climate. Calvert soon learned that he had been deceived and that, except as a fishing station, his settlement was a failure. In a friendly letter, King Charles I invited him to return to England.

Disappointment and Death. — Before receiving the king's invitation, Lord Baltimore with the members of his household and forty of his colonists had left Avalon for the pleasanter country on Chesapeake Bay. In the fall of

¹ The founding of Virginia, the greatest of the Southern Colonies, has already been described, pages 54–63.

1629 they arrived at Jamestown. There Calvert was at once asked to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. As the oath of supremacy stated that the king was supreme governor in all spiritual affairs, Calvert refused to take it, because, as a Catholic, he believed the Pope to be the spiritual head of the Church. Moreover, as the Virginia Company had been dissolved, he may well have doubted the right of the officials to administer this oath. Calvert was not only received with coldness but, by the more fanatical, was even threatened with personal violence. Disappointed a second time, he and his weary pilgrims sailed for England. On his arrival he asked Charles I for a grant of land south of the James River. This also



MARYLAND BY THE ORIGINAL PATENT

was opposed by the Virginians, who had sent commissioners to England to defeat any such application. Therefore, though Calvert did not urge his request, he was given a tract in the unsettled country north of the Potomac. In honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria, Charles gave to the proposed

colony the name of Maryland, or *Terra Mariae*. In 1632, before the charter was sealed, Lord Baltimore died.

The Charter of Maryland. — On the death of George Calvert the grant intended for him was conferred upon his eldest son Cecilius. In extent it was much greater than the present state of Maryland, for it included in

addition the whole of Delaware, the wide strip of Pennsylvania lying south of the fortieth parallel, and some land now occupied by West Virginia. Moreover, for the government of this colony, the charter gave Calvert almost royal power — greater power than had ever before been granted to an English subject.¹

Settlement of St. Mary's. — The Ark and the Dore were engaged to bring Calvert's people to America. His brother Leonard was given command of the expedition and a still younger brother, George, accompanied him. There were about twenty "gentlemen," mostly Catholics, and between two hundred and three hundred laborers and artisans. Some historians think that about half the emigrants were Protestants, while others believe that a majority were of that faith. Two Jesuit priests, Reverend Andrew White and Reverend John Altham, came with the settlers.

The company left England on November 22, 1633. On the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1634, they landed and celebrated their first mass in Maryland. After some exploration they settled at a place where a small river flows into the Potomac. To their new home they gave the name St. Mary's.

Relations with the Indians. — In dealing with the natives they adopted a wiser course than the Virginians had done. For cloth, axes, and other articles they bought

¹ The Proprietary, as Lord Baltimore was called, exercised in the colony powers similar to those exercised by the King in England. He could build cities and towns, and make certain places ports of entry; make war and conclude peace, set up courts of law, and appoint judges and other officials. He could not only enforce laws and pardon offenders, but, with the consent of the freemen of Maryland, could make laws. He could establish churches and chapels, have them consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, and appoint the incumbents. For his privileges the Proprietary was to deliver yearly to the King two Indian arrows and one fifth of all the gold and silver mined in the province.

land on which to make their settlement. The neighboring Indians also gave them a part of their village, keeping for themselves another part until they had gathered their growing crops. To Father White was given a chief's hut for a chapel.



THE CEREMONY AT THE FOUNDING OF ST. MARY'S

Opposition of Virginians. — In the beginning the people of Maryland enjoyed a double blessing. They were spared the horrors of Indian warfare, and their interests were made the chief care of a wise ruler. Nevertheless, they were made to feel that some sort of affliction seems to be the common lot of humanity. The scourge of the province was William Claiborne, secretary of state for Virginia and an able man of business. His hatred and his activity well-nigh destroyed the infant colony. Against Maryland

the Virginians had three grievances. In the first place, the Maryland charter, they said, covered territory that had been included in their own grant. The Virginians, to be sure, had neglected to settle it, but they still looked upon it as their own. In the second place, Maryland was a Catholic province, and they did not like to have its people so near them. Then, too, in foreign markets, Maryland had certain trading privileges which Virginia did not possess.

Trouble with Claiborne. — Claiborne was the agent or the partner of a company of London merchants which was formed to carry on a trade in furs with the Indians north of Virginia, and to conduct this traffic he built a trading post on Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay, north of the Potomac. He had some trouble with the Indians, and before long their attacks compelled him to defend his trading post by building a fort.

When the Maryland settlers arrived, Claiborne was notified that Kent Island was within the limits of their grant. In a courteous letter he was informed by Governor Calvert that Lord Baltimore desired to give him all possible encouragement consistent with the charter, and he was asked to a friendly conference. Claiborne not only disregarded this invitation, but continued to inflame the minds of Virginians against the Maryland colonists. Tidings of this conduct having reached Lord Baltimore, he ordered that Kent Island should be seized and Claiborne held a prisoner.

In a little more than a year after St. Mary's was settled there was open war with the forces of Claiborne. During its progress one of his ships was captured and its commander killed. Though both the King and Governor Harvey of Virginia advised trade with Maryland, a Puri-

¹ The Virginia charter was annulled in 1624, so that the king really had the right to make the Maryland grant as he did.

tan element, with Claiborne as one of its leading spirits, refused to hold any commercial relations with St. Mary's. For a time the influence of the King preserved the peace,

CECILIUS CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE,
PROPRIETARY OF MARYLAND

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but the feeling between the colonies continued to be one of great bitterness.

The Maryland Assembly. - In February, 1635, under the presidency of Leonard Calvert, the first assembly met at St. Marv's. It seems to have been composed of all the freemen of the colony. They drew up several laws which they sent to the Proprietary for his approval. This was refused, probably because the charter gave him the right to make laws with the consent of the freemen and not the freemen with his

consent. In 1638 the second assembly met. This likewise included all the freemen of the colony, who were present in person or were represented by proxies; it was presided over by the governor, with whom were united certain councillors appointed by Lord Baltimore. A

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draft of laws sent out by him was read to the assembly and rejected. Thus, members of the assembly would not agree to laws proposed by the Proprietary, and he would not approve laws proposed by them. At last he adopted a very wise policy. He gave his brother, Leonard Calvert, full power to approve laws passed by the assembly. As that body had shown that it could be trusted to manage the affairs of the colony, Lord Baltimore reserved to himself only the right to veto measures to which he objected. Thus, about four years after its settlement, was self-government established in Maryland.

Rapid Growth of the Colony. — Calvert had found it no easy task to bring together the two or three hundred colonists that came over in the Ark and the Dove. Yet, when the people of England learned that Maryland had a delightful climate and a fertile soil, that it was free from Indian wars, that the freemen were really governing themselves, and that both Catholics and Protestants enjoyed full religious liberty, it was not hard to persuade others to come and share those blessings. Those who came alone were given homesteads, while those who brought five, ten, or twenty colonists were given large estates. Persons unable to pay their passage went to a ship captain, who readily brought them to Maryland. On their arrival he sold their services to the planters. These poor men. masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and farm laborers, were known as indented servants. When they had served their masters for the term agreed upon, they became freemen. Such indented servants went also to Virginia and other colonies.

The Jesuit Missionaries. — With the zeal that has always marked the members of the Society of Jesus they labored ardently among the natives, many of whom readily embraced Christianity. In 1640 the chief of the

Pascat'aways was baptized and married according to Christian rites. His little daughter, seven years old, was sent to St. Mary's to be educated. As the Jesuits had done elsewhere, they instructed their numerous converts not only in matters of doctrine but also in many of the useful arts. They cared for them in sickness and fed them in times of famine. It is not surprising, then, that the Jesuit missionary was ever a welcome guest in the wigwam of the red man.

Invasion of Claiborne and Ingle. — The year 1642 marked the beginning of the great Civil War in England. The Maryland settlers naturally took sides, and for many vears there was serious disturbance. During this era of unrest Richard Ingle, who arrived with a merchant vessel, began to make treasonable speeches. To avoid prosecution he made his escape. Claiborne, too, took advantage of the disorder to revisit Kent Island and to form a party in his interest. Later Ingle returned with an armed ship. St. Mary's was seized, and Calvert fled to Virginia to ask assistance from Governor Berkeley. For two years the followers of Claiborne and Ingle behaved like bandits. They imprisoned men, pillaged plantations, seized cattle, stripped mills of their machinery, and even houses of their locks. The mission stations were broken up, and Father White was sent in irons to England, where he was tried for treason but acquitted.

Return and Death of Governor Calvert. — With a small force of Marylanders, who had fled before the invaders, and some Virginians, Calvert returned and once more established his authority. But on June 9, 1647, he died. "After thirteen years of service in the highest office in province," says an able historian, "this wise, just, and humane governor left a personal estate amounting to only

one hundred and ten pounds sterling." This is a fine tribute to the justice of Leonard Calvert, the first governor of Maryland.

Act of Toleration (1649). — Maryland had adopted many of the laws and customs of the mother country, but in them made some noted improvements. In the instructions which Lord Baltimore gave to the colonists before they sailed, he directed that absolute impartiality between Catholics and Protestants should be observed, and that even a discussion of differences about religion should not be permitted. These instructions were dated November 13, 1633. It must be remembered that there was then no country in the world in which religious belief was free.²

In 1649 the assembly of Maryland passed the famous Act of Toleration. It made blasphemy against any person of the Holy Trinity punishable by death. A fine was imposed on those making reproachful speeches against the Blessed Virgin or the Apostles. Those also were punished who applied to others such epithets as Puritan, Jesuit, Papist, or heretic. It declared that the "enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence," and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants of the province "no person professing belief in Jesus Christ" shall be "in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion, nor in

¹ Browne, Maryland — The History of a Palatinate, p. 64.

² In England the House of Commons had openly declared against toleration. Before his death Governor Calvert appointed Thomas Greene as his successor. Hitherto the chief accusation against the authorities was their religion. In England it was represented that the Protestant settlers were oppressed. To put an end to this misrepresentation Lord Baltimore in 1648 removed Greene from the governorship and appointed in his place one William Stone, a Protestant. The governor's oath bound him to molest no person of the Christian faith on account of religion.

the free exercise thereof." The act merely confirmed the policy that Baltimore had adopted at the outset.¹

The Puritans in Power. — While Cromwell was the ruler of England (note, p. 62), Maryland was harassed by enemies both within and without, but for this condition Cromwell does not appear to have been directly responsible. His treatment of Lord Baltimore seems to have been as fair as could have been expected by one of the late king's friends. Much of the trouble was due to Richard Bennett, one of many persecuted Puritans who had taken



COINS OF THE MARYLAND COLONY

refuge in Maryland and had sworn fidelity to its proprietary. In 1654 he joined Claiborne, the enemy of the province. With a force of Marylanders and Virginians they compelled Governor Stone to resign and in his place appointed Puritan commissioners.

The difference between the Calverts and other rulers of that

time was then made clear. The commissioners issued writs for the election of members to a general assembly. It was provided that no man of the Roman Catholic faith could be elected an assemblyman or even cast a vote. The assembly thus chosen soon repealed the Toleration Act of 1649 and passed a new law concerning religion. This provided that no Roman Catholic could be protected

¹ The first governor, Leonard Calvert, held the same opinions. Indeed, from the beginning of the colony no man had ever been molested on account of his religious belief. The greatest care had been taken not to offend the Protestant settlers. Two Catholics who did so were tried and punished.

in the province. Toleration was granted to all except Roman Catholics, Quakers, Anabaptists, Brownists, and some members of the smaller Protestant sects. In short, the Puritans tolerated no one but themselves.

Lord Baltimore brought many outrages to the attention of Cromwell, who soon compelled Bennett and his Virginia fanatics to change their attitude toward Maryland. Once more the authority of the Proprietary was fully restored. Those who had been in arms against him were given the choice of either leaving the province or promising support of its government. In the agreement between the parties there was a clause that made perpetual the Toleration Act of 1649.

Maryland after the Restoration. — Under Charles II and James II, the Baltimores were sustained as the proprietors of Maryland, although the extent of the province was much diminished by the grants to William Penn. But the reign of William and Mary was indeed an evil time for Lord Baltimore. He had been very unfairly treated by James II, a member of his own faith, and could hardly expect favor from King William, the head of the Protestant party in Europe.

By this time many Maryland Protestants had worked themselves into a frenzy. They seized the government, and in their name one Coode prepared an address to the King. They had taken up arms, he asserted, in defense of the Protestant religion, and in order to secure the province to his Majesty. Petitions asking William to take over the government of the colony were sent to England from nearly every county. The Catholic inhabitants denied Coode's calumnies, but William ignored their denials, kept the province, and in August, 1691, appointed Sir Lionel Copley royal governor of Maryland. Twenty-five years later, when one of the Calverts

had become a Protestant, the colony was restored to that family.

Territorial Losses. — The northern boundary of Maryland, by its charter, was the parallel of 40° north latitude, which runs a little north of Philadelphia. But fifty years later, by the favor of Charles II, William Penn laid claim to a boundary much farther south, and the best that Lord Baltimore could do was to accept the compromise line that forms the present boundary.¹ Delaware also was lost because the Swedish and Dutch settlements there were seized by the Duke of York in 1664.

DELAWARE

The earliest settlement in Delaware was planted by Peter Minuit in 1638. Having been dismissed by the Dutch West India Company, he was now acting for a Swedish company.² Most of the first settlers were Dutchmen, but others came later from Sweden and Finland.

We have already seen how New Sweden was conquered by the Dutch in 1655 (p. 91). As part of New Netherland it was taken by the Duke of York, who granted Delaware to William Penn in 1681.

For a time this colony was governed as part of Pennsylvania. But presently the people secured the privilege of electing a legislature for themselves, so that Delaware was regarded as a separate colony under the proprietorship of the Penns.

- ¹ The manner in which Penn acquired land that had been granted to Calvert is entertainingly related by William Hand Browne in *Maryland*, (American Commonwealths).
- ² The founder of this company was William Usselinx, a Belgian by birth, who had been also the chief founder of the Dutch West India Company. Failing to receive in Holland the reward which he expected for his services, he visited Sweden and secured the formation of a new company under a Swedish charter.

THE CAROLINAS

When Charles II was called to the throne of England (1660), he and his courtiers were impoverished by many years of exile. As they could not safely repair their ruined fortunes by taxing the people of England, some of them tried to do so by colonizing. In 1660, as we have seen, there were English colonies in Virginia, Maryland, and New England, but a Dutch colony in New Netherland, which was presently captured and divided into New York,

New Jersey, and Delaware. Under Charles II, also, the new colony of Pennsylvania was established in the North. We are now to see what new colonies were established in the South.

The Albemarle Colony.
— One of the men who had helped Charles



CAROLINA BY THE GRANT OF 1665

II to get his throne was General Monk, who was rewarded for his services and made Duke of Albemarle. Eight friends of Charles II, including Albemarle, soon obtained a grant of land extending from 29° to 36° 30′ north latitude and westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific. As early as 1653 some Virginians searching for more fertile lands had settled near Albemarle Sound.

The proprietors seem to have directed Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, to provide for the government of those colonists, and that official sent William Drummond to rule them. This part of the Carolina country came to be known as the Albemarle Colony.

When Charles II became king, the land titles of British planters in the island of Barbados began to be questioned. This doubt caused many to look about and try their fortunes elsewhere. To those who would emigrate to Carolina within five years liberal grants of land were promised, and all settlers were assured liberty of conscience. Lord Ashley caused his secretary, the philosopher John Locke, to prepare a constitution for the government of the settlers. But his scheme was not at all suited to the needs of the colonists.¹

Beginnings of Charleston (1670). — Three vessels were fitted out by some of the proprietors and took on board more than one hundred settlers, who arrived in the Savannah River in March, 1670. In about a month they settled themselves at points around Charleston harbor. During the year 1680 some of the settlers moved to the site of Charleston. A few French Huguenots and a company of Scots came during the following years.

^{1 &}quot;The Fundamental Constitution" or "Grand Model" was perhaps the most complex system of government ever proposed. By it the colonists were to be divided into four classes, namely, proprietaries, land-graves, caciques, and leetmen. Corresponding to these classes the land was divided into seignories, baronies, precincts, and colonies. The object of the law, said Locke, was to protect the interests of the proprietaries and to establish a government "agreeable to monarchy and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy." Under this scheme the leetmen were to be mere serfs bound to the soil. But in a country in which men could easily make a living for themselves from field, forest, and stream, it proved to be impossible to set up classes. What the philosopher feared was exactly what came to pass: Carolina became a hotbed of democracy. Every attempt to put the Grand Model in force irritated the people, and finally it was abandoned.

The Two Carolinas.— By 1700 there were about 8000 inhabitants in Carolina. After the settlement of Charleston the northern and the southern group of plantations sometimes had separate governors. When in 1729 the proprietors sold Carolina to the king, the territory was

divided into two royal provinces, North Carolina and South Carolina.

GEORGIA

Imprisonment for Debt.—The authorities of Carolina gave much attention to the task of defending the settlements against the attacks of their Spanish neighbors in Florida, but they found it too expensive to keep up a military



OGLETHORPE VISITING A DEBTOR IN PRISON

post. This fact came to the attention of James Edward Oglethorpe. During his service in the House of Commons he had learned of the hard fate of debtors, who were often thrown by their creditors into the most loathsome jails. His idea was to pay their debts, open their prison doors, and send them as settlers into that part of South Carolina nearest the Spaniards.

Savannah Settled (1733). — With other humane men General Oglethorpe obtained from King George II a grant of land from the mouth of the Savannah to that of the Altamaha'; thence to their sources, and from those points

westward to the South Sea. With one hundred and fifty freed debtors Oglethorpe founded Savannah in 1733. This community, the last of the thirteen colonies, was to serve as a "buffer" settlement, which in honor of the King was named Georgia.

Slow Growth. — Land was allotted to the Georgia colonists in small tracts; moreover, they were forbidden to own slaves. This made it impossible for them to compete with the prosperous planters of the Carolinas, and therefore the new colony made little progress. In 1751 the trustees, who were disappointed at their lack of success, gave up their rights to the Crown. A generation passed before the population of the colony exceeded 6000 white persons. Later some Protestants came from Salzburg, in Austria, Italians from Piedmont, and some Huguenots from France.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Tell the story of Avalon. Describe the extent of territory and the nature of the powers conferred upon the second Lord Baltimore. What is said of the dispute with Claiborne? What wise arrangement was made in respect to the laws passed in the colony? Give the facts of the Claiborne-Ingle invasion. Discuss the Act of Toleration. How did the Puritans behave when in power? After having lost the colony, how did the Lords Baltimore recover it?

Name the different owners of Delaware. How did Delaware come to be separated from Pennsylvania?

How did Charles II assist his friends? What is said of the Albemarle colony? Why did English settlers desire to leave Barbados? What is said of Locke's scheme of government? Describe it. Tell of the beginnings of Charleston. What event happened in 1729?

What was the condition of debtors in England? When and by whom was Georgia founded? Explain its slow growth.

References. — William Hand Browne, Maryland (American Commonwealths); Channing, A History of the United States, Vol. I; Fisher, The Colonial Era; Clayton Colman Hall, The Lords Baltimore; Doyle, The English Colonies in America.

CHAPTER IX

SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES

In 1707 England and Scotland were united into the one kingdom of Great Britain, and the eleven English colonies in North America became British colonies. But the words England and English nevertheless continued in common use, in referring to the united kingdom. By 1733 the number of the colonies was increased to thirteen by the division of Carolina and the founding of Georgia (maps, pages 162, 204).



NEW YORK IN 1732

English Colonies After 1700. — In 1700 the population of the English colonies was over 250,000, of which Virginia had almost one fourth. Boston, with 7000 people, was the largest place in New England. Villages, often far apart, but no cities were found between there and New York, which had a population of 5000. Burlington, the old capital of New Jersey, was then its most important

town. Ten thousand people made Philadelphia the largest city in the colonies. At a later time Baltimore was mentioned as a hamlet of a hundred souls. Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, was the largest inland town.

Races Represented. — Of the thirteen colonies ten were settled almost entirely by Englishmen. In New York, Walloons and Dutch made up the first communities, as the Swedes and Finns were the most numerous of the early settlers in Delaware. Like the first settlers of New York, those of New Jersey were Hollanders. In considerable numbers French Calvinists came to the Carolinas. Companies of Germans colonized the Mohawk Valley, in New York, but to Pennsylvania they went by thousands, and from it, down the valleys of the Appalachians, they poured into the western parts of Maryland and Virginia. Before the year 1700 there began to flow from Ireland a stream of immigration that has continued for more than two hundred years. Multitudes of settlers from the north of Ireland came to Pennsylvania. In some periods as many as ten thousand arrived during a single year. For the most part these were of the Presbyterian religion, but from very early times Irish Catholics were coming to the colonies. Welsh immigrants, too, settled in Pennsylvania and in some of the other plantations.

Forms of Government. — The thirteen British colonies in 1733 may be grouped into three classes, — charter, proprietary, and royal. The colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had charters issued to the people. In all three the people at first had the right to elect their governors as well as their legislatures; but the second charter of Massachusetts (1691) provided that the king should appoint the governor of that colony. Maryland,

¹ Massachusetts included not only Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth but also Maine-

Pennsylvania, and Delaware were ruled by proprietaries, Calverts or Penns, who owned the land, appointed governors, and approved laws passed by the assemblies. The seven remaining colonies, namely, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (after 1751) were known as royal provinces. As the king could not rule them in person, he appointed for each a governor to represent him. But whether the governor was elected by the people, appointed by a proprietor, or named by a king, there had come into existence in each colony a lawmaking body, which raised money by taxation and used it to pay the expenses of government. This assembly, as time went on, gained more and more power.

Unrepresented in Parliament. — The colonists sent no members to Parliament.¹ This lack of representation led later to the appointment of colonial agents, who lived in England and who took care of the interests of their own and sometimes of other colonies.

Lords of Trade. — The regulation of colonial laws and trade soon proved too great a burden for the personal attention of the king or the chief ministers of state. This led to the selection of a committee known after 1696 as the Lords of the Board of Trade and Plantations. Briefly stated their duty was to superintend the trade and government of the colonies.

The Colonial Governor. — The governor was the most important official in colonial life. In eight of the provinces governors were appointed by the king. Even for Maryland as well as for Pennsylvania and Delaware he approved those named by the proprietaries. The governor's

¹ The Parliament, which is composed of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, is the body which makes laws for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland as well as for the British Empire.

duty was to suggest laws to the assemblies, to send home copies of those that were passed, and to report on the general affairs of the colony. More important was his power to veto or forbid the passage of acts contrary to the laws of England. Any colonial law, moreover, could be vetoed or "disallowed" by the king. The governor was commander of the militia, could call meetings of the assembly, and adjourn or even dissolve it.

The Council. — Acting as advisers to the governor of each colony were from three to twenty-eight men called a council. In Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware its members were named by the proprietaries, in the royal provinces by the king, and in Massachusetts by the General Court. They acted not only as advisers to the governor but as an upper house of the legislature and oftentimes as the supreme court.

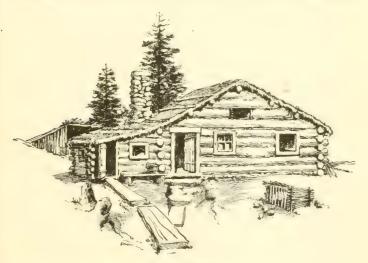
The Assembly. — With the council as an upper house of the legislature, nearly every colony had a lawmaking body of two divisions. The members of the assembly were elected by such of the people as could vote. It coöperated with the governor and the council in making laws, levying taxes, and appointing officers. In time the right to raise and expend money made the assembly a powerful body.

Local Government. — In the New England communities local affairs were chiefly managed by the township, in the Southern provinces by the county, and in the Middle Colonies partly by the county and in part by the township.

Colonial Laws. — In colonial times the punishment of crimes was often cruel, and the death penalty was inflicted for many offenses. It was common to brand a criminal. From the neck of a drunkard was suspended a

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ In all the colonies it was necessary to be a male adult and to own a certain amount of property in order to vote.

scarlet letter "D." In parts of New England it was forbidden to travel from town to town, to cook, or even to walk about the village on the Sabbath. Slander, seedding, and profanity were often punished by gagging or by ducking. Thus a scold might be gagged and then placed in her own doorway. The person sentenced to be ducked was tied to a chair beside a stream or a pond. Chair and

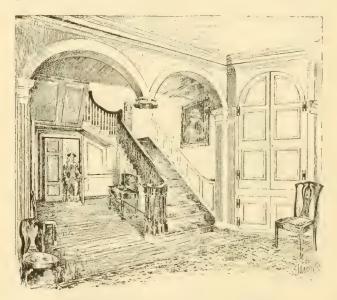


LOG HOUSE

victim were then swung over the water and lowered by means of a long lever like a well sweep. For certain offenses men were placed in the stocks on the occasion of some public gathering. With both hands and feet tied they were likely to be pelted with eggs or other missiles by men and boys. Those inclined to swearing had their tongues pinched with a split stick.

Houses. — In New York the first settlers built wigwams in the manner of the Indians. The log house, which

was common everywhere, soon followed. Instead of glass many windows had oiled paper. In a little while rich men, whose number rapidly increased, began to build fine mansions. Like the first houses the early furniture was homemade and rude. The fine mansions were filled with costly furniture, silver, and china.



COLONIAL HOUSE IN MARYLAND, BUILT 1740

Clothing. — Rich men wore broadcloth garments ornamented with lace ruffles. Knee breeches were then in fashion, and were worn with long silk stockings and shoes graced by silver buckles. Wealthy women wore garments of silk or of brocade and very high headdresses beautified by ostrich plumes. Workingmen wore breeches of leather, buckskin, or coarse canvas, and in summer in the country parts they sometimes went barefoot.

Manufactures. — In the matter of manufactures the colonies had some advantages over England. Their fine forests supplied fir for masts, oak for planks, and pine from which could be made tar and turpentine. Hemp was easily raised. It was this abundance of material which early made shipbuilding an important industry. In this business New England was much interested.

Weaving was brought into Pennsylvania by the Germans and into many of the other colonies by immigrants from Ireland. The woolen industry would have thrived but for the interference of Parliament, which passed acts preventing the export of woolen goods. Such goods could not lawfully be shipped to another colony, and the act of 1699 made it unlawful to sell them in a different part of even the same province. England preferred to take from her colonies raw material, manufacture it, and then ship it back.

The abundance of forests and of water power led to the building of saw mills, and in a little while great quantities of lumber were shipped to England. At first white men ground their corn just as the Indians did. The hand mill soon came into general use, but before long the water mill took its place. A little iron ore was mined in early days, much of it being collected in bogs and swamps. From it a poor quality of iron was made. New York, New Jersey, and Virginia soon had bloomeries and blast furnaces.

Agriculture. — The first settlers searched for gold and for a passage to India; then they attempted to grow tea and other plants not adapted to the climate. Tobacco, an important crop in Virginia and Maryland, was of some account in North Carolina, which also produced tar and turpentine. In South Carolina rice was the chief staple, and, until the Revolution, attention was paid to the raising

of indigo. Maize or Indian corn, wheat, potatoes, and fruits were the principal crops of New England and the Middle Colonies. But everywhere the farmer was something more than a husbandman; in fact, he was also by turns fisherman, hunter, and lumberman.

Travel and Communication. — For distant travel there was no steamboat, no steam railway, no electric car, no



TRAVELING ON HORSEBACK

automobile, and in very early days no stagecoach. Much local travel was on horseback or by means of sailing vessels that waited on wind and tide. Oxen hauled farm and dairy produce to the village market, often on rude sledges. Wagonsdid not come into general use until roads were built, and the early roads were often made impassable by heavy rains.

There was no system of wireless teleg-

raphy, no oceanic cable, no magnetic telegraph, no telephone, and in the beginning no post office. Many other conveniences with which we are now familiar were unknown in the year 1700.

Navigation Acts. — In the beginning the king, and from 1649 to 1660 the Parliament, managed colonial affairs. In 1651 there was passed an act which provided that no

ships except those of England or her colonies could trade between one American port and another, engage in the foreign trade of the settlements, or in trade between England and her colonies. A second law, passed in 1660, provided that no goods could be brought into or sent out of an American port except in English or colonial vessels, and that certain products, such as tobacco, indigo, and furs, could be sent to no market except to England. It is clear that all these regulations were made for the benefit of English merchants.

Pirates. — By the year 1700 the seas were infested with pirates. Success made them so bold that their crimes

became unbearable. It was to check them that Lord Bellomont was made governor of New York. He commissioned William Kidd, a ca-

pable Scotch seaman, to put down piracy. For more than a year Kidd sailed the seas without finding any pirates. Then the temptation overcame him and he turned sea robber himself. After a long career of crime



CAPTURE OF STEDE BONNET

he ventured on shore at Boston, was arrested and sent to England for trial, where in 1701 he was hanged for the murder of one of his sailors.

Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina at last resolved to put an end to piracy. In 1704 there was a wholesale hanging of pirates in Boston. Some years later the notorious Stede Bonnet was taken in fight by Colonel

Rhett, of Charleston. Then with twenty-three of his crew he was hanged. After this proof of spirit by the colonial authorities the seas became safer.

Religion. — Though not a little of the early bitterness on questions of religion had passed away by the year 1700, quite enough of it still remained. The Episcopal Church was the leading one in Virginia and the Carolinas. In Maryland, Catholics were numerous. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware there were many Quakers. Lutherans and Presbyterians soon came in. There were many Catholics in Penn's colony, for it was always free from persecution. Then as now members of many creeds were to be found in New York. In Massachusetts the Puritan spirit, though less harsh than in early days, still frowned upon amusements such as dancing, stage plays, and football, all of which were forbidden.

Education. — In 1693 there was founded at Williamsburg the college of William and Mary. The great colony of Virginia contained no public school, and not more than half a dozen private schools. As early as 1692 a Pennsylvania law required parents or guardians of children to see that they could read and write by the time they were twelve years old. In the year 1749 Benjamin Franklin founded an academy which later became the University of Pennsylvania. The colony of Massachusetts Bay, as we have seen (p. 72), acted promptly in the matter of education. In 1701, at New Haven, was established a college, which was named in honor of Governor Elihu Yale. The private schools in colonial times were kept by wandering teachers who boarded around among the farmers or the Their instruction seldom went further than village folk. reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Printing. — In the English colonies the first printing press was set up in 1630 at Cambridge. The first news-

paper, the Boston News Letter, did not appear till 1704. Fifteen years passed before one was printed in Pennsylvania and more than a quarter of a century before any could be found south of the Potomac.

Amusements.—Although the Puritans frowned upon dancing, this pastime was regarded as harmless in New York, as were skating and coasting, sports brought in by the Dutch. Corn huskings and quilting parties were common in New England, but its chief events in the way of amusements took place on the training days, four in each year, when the militia drilled on the village green. House raisings, auctions, and picnics were the occasions of social gatherings in the Middle Colonies, as were horse racing, fox hunting, sack races, and barbecues in the South.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — How many colonies did England possess in America by the year 1733? What was the total population in 1700? Which was the largest city? What race settled nearly all the colonies? What races were found in early New York? In Delaware?

What three kinds of government were to be found in the colonies? As the provinces were unrepresented in Parliament, how did they make known to England their respective needs? Who were the Lords of Trade and Plantations? What is said of the importance of the governor? Of the council? Of the assembly? What was the unit of local government in New England? In the South? In the Middle Colonies?

Why was New England an uncomfortable place for drunkards, scolds, and profane persons? Describe colonial dwellings, furniture, and clothing. What is said of manufactures? Of agriculture?

Describe travel, communication, piracy. What can you tell of religion in colonial days? Of education? Of printing? What were the principal amusements in the colonies?

References. — Alice Morse Earle, Home Life in Colonial Days, and Colonial Dames and Goodwives; also any careful study of the colonial era.

CHAPTER X

NEW FRANCE AND LOUISIANA

Missionary Work in New France. — In 1615, on the invitation of Champlain, three Franciscans arrived in



FATHER JOGUES A CAPTIVE

Canada. Ten years later, at their request, three Jesuits joined them. The two orders labored together until 1629, when Quebec was taken by the English. Then all were returned to Europe. On the restoration of Canada to the French, three years later, the Jesuits resumed their missionary activity.

Captivity of Father Jogues.—In one of his journeys Father Jogues (zhōg), as well as his companion René Goupil (reh-nā' goo-pēl'), was taken prisoner by a roaming band of Mo-

hawks, carried to one of their castles, or fortified villages, in central New York, and cruelly tortured. During his captivity of fifteen months he baptized many, heard a

number of confessions, and, whenever opportunity offered, began to instruct the natives in the elements of Christianity. Thinking on the heroism and the zeal of Father Jogues, the historian Bancroft¹ writes:

"Roaming through the stately forests of the Mohawk Valley, he wrote the name of Jesus on the bark of the trees, graved the cross, and entered into possession of these countries in the name of God, often lifting up his voice in a solitary chant. Thus did France bring its banner and its faith to the confines of Albany."

Father Jogues was eventually ransomed by the Dutch of New Netherland; Governor William Kieft showed him the greatest kindness, and among other favors found him passage on a ship for France. Everywhere in Europe he was honored for his sufferings. But once more his apostolic spirit brought him from cultured France to what was then barbarous Canada, where he arrived in the spring of 1645. Having urged a mission among the terrible Iroquois, he was soon in New York. This time he did not, as on a former occasion, escape with mutilated hands, for not far from the scene of his earlier torture he gained the martyr's crown.

Father Le Jeune. — On the 5th of July, 1632, Father Le Jeune (zhun), S.J., landed at Quebec.² In the interesting book *The Jesuits in North America*, the story of Le Jeune and other missionaries among the Algonquins and Hurons is beautifully told by Francis Parkman. Interesting as it

¹ History of the United States, Vol. III, p. 134.

² His first attempt to explain by signs the doctrines of the Catholic Church convinced him of the necessity of learning the Algonquin language. For this purpose he visited the Indian encampments. In the absence of the men he was received by a squaw, who showed him how to roast eels by holding them with a forked stick over embers. At this feast, which was shared by several younger squaws, who used their hair for napkins, the priest left no moment unemployed and by gestures and broken words kept up an active conversation. Though he found this method of studying the language very unsatisfactory, it was the best he could do at that time.

is, it is more closely connected with the history of Canada than with that of our own country. In this book, therefore, the subject can be touched but briefly. In the experience of Father Le Jeune the chief things to be noted are the difficulty of learning the Indian languages and the impossibility of converting bands of roving savages.

The Huron Mission. — When the zeal of Le Jeune had singled him out for the position of Superior of the Society of Jesus, the attempt to convert the Hurons, who were farmers even more than hunters, was made by Fathers Brébeuf (brā-buf'), Daniel', Davost (dah-vo'), and others. At the risk of their lives they made the difficult journey to the shores of Lake Huron. Their endeavors were beginning to bear fruit in many conversions when in 1649 the Iroquois attacked the Huron villages and destroyed or dispersed the nation, after some of the most desperate fighting that ever took place between Indians.

Brébeuf and Lalemant. - Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant (lahl-mahn') were then conducting the mission at St. Louis. Parkman gives us a vivid account of their fate. Both were captured, and Brébeuf was led away and tied to a stake. Forgetting himself he urged his converts to suffer brayely. Enraged at this the Iroquois scorched him from head to foot; his lower lip was cut away and a red-hot iron thrust down his throat. Then in his presence Lalemant was led to the torture. Strips of bark smeared with pitch were tied about his naked body. In the words of St. Paul he called out to his Superior: "We are made a spectacle to the world, to angels and to men." He then threw himself at Brébeuf's feet. Immediately he was seized by the Iroquois, who set fire to the bark wrapped about him. From the midst of the flames he threw up his arms with a cry of supplication to Heaven. Then the torture of Father Brébeuf was resumed. They hung round his neck a collar of

red-hot hatchets. The fine form of the priest towered proudly above the fiendish Iroquois. Boiling water was next poured slowly over his head. "We baptize you," said a renegade Indian, "that you may be happy in Heaven; for nobody can be saved without a good baptism." Even then the missionary showed no signs of flinching, and in a rage they cut from his body strips of flesh which they devoured before his eyes. He was then scalped, and when he was nearly dead, they came in a body to drink the blood which flowed from so valiant an enemy. His heart was torn out by a chief, who devoured it. Thus died Father Jean de Brébeuf, the hero of the Huron Mission. Some hours afterward the gentle Father Lalemant was brained by the hatchet of a warrior who had grown weary of torturing him.

Missions in New York. — After overthrowing the Hurons, the Iroquois destroyed several other tribes. Meanwhile, for some reason that is not perfectly clear they sued for peace with the French. When the Onondagas asked for a missionary, Father Le Moyne was sent to them. At first he founded a mission near the mouth of the Oswego River; thence he pushed into the interior and in doing so discovered the salt springs in the vicinity of Syracuse, New York. Fathers Dablon (dah-blawn') and Chaumonot (sho-mo-nō') were soon at work in the same field. In November, 1655, was begun the building of a chapel, which, owing to the zeal of the natives, was finished in a day.

The success of the mission aroused the wrath of those Iroquois who were still pagans, and its flourishing career of three years was interrupted by a renewal of war. Through the influence of the Indian chief Garacontié (gah-rah-con-tyā'), however, who looked kindly upon Christianity, and at last became a convert, peace was restored in 1660. Thereafter he was a protector of the missions and a friend of the French.

Marquette and Joliet. — In 1673 the missionary Reverend James Marquette (mar-ket'), S. J., and the explorer Joliet (zhō-lyā'), discovered the upper Mississippi River. They drifted with its current as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. Several times they landed and twice passed the night at Indian villages back from the river. In this there was the greatest danger, but the calumet, or pipe of peace, in every case was found a perfect protection. When they had reached the Arkansas River these explorers were convinced that "The Father of Waters" flows not toward either California or Virginia but toward the Gulf of Mexico. With their five companions, therefore, they began paddling upstream the weary way back to Lake Michigan. In crossing to that body of water they passed the site of Chicago.

With a map of their discoveries and a report, Joliet started for Quebec with the breaking up of the ice. In the rapids near Montreal, his canoe was capsized, his report lost, and three of his companions drowned.

La Salle. — Robert Cavalier (cah-vah-lyā'), Sieur de la Salle (syer deh lah sahl), now determined to explore the Mississippi to its mouth.² In 1679, on the upper Niagara River he launched the *Griffin*, a ship of forty-five tons. On it, the first large vessel ever seen on those waters, he crossed

¹ Exposure to days of heat and nights of chilling fog, together with lack of rest and of food, had broken the health of Father Marquette, and it was long before he was able to keep his promise to found a mission among the Illinois Indians, upon whom he had made a lasting impression. It was while returning from a visit to one of their villages that a great weakness warned him that his days were spent. On the eastern shore of Lake Michigan he saw a suitable place for ending his voyage, and there begged his rowers to set him on shore. This they did and made him as comfortable as was possible in the wilderness. The little time that remained was passed in prayer. His friends heard him thanking God for the manner of his approaching death. This expression of his gratitude was scarcely ended when the saintly Marquette went to his reward.

² On earlier journeys of exploration, in 1669-1671, La Salle had alread-discovered the Ohio River, and probably the Illinois also.



Father Marquette on the Mississippi River



Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. While his ship was returning for supplies, La Salle journeyed on to the country of the Illinois Indians, and on the Illinois River he built a fort named Crèvecoeur (crav-ker, meaning Heart-break).

After vainly waiting for the *Griffin*, La Salle with a few companions and an Indian guide started through the path-

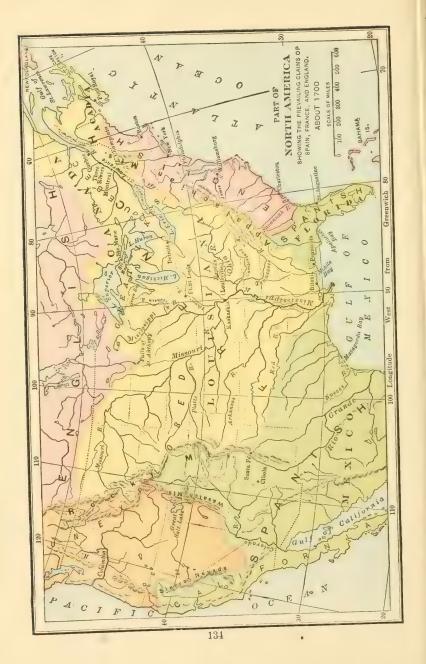
less wilderness for Montreal. Afterward with fresh supplies he made his way back to the Illinois River, but in his absence the garrison at Crèvecoeur had risen against their brave commander, Henri de Tonty, and had destroyed the fort. Moreover, the Illinois Indians had been defeated and dispersed by the Iroquois.

Discovery of the Mississippi. — After long wanderings, La Salle found Tonty and made ready for



LA SALLE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI

another start. With a party of Frenchmen and Indians from Canada, he entered the Chicago River and crossed the portage to the Illinois. Down that stream he and his companions were borne in canoes to the Mississippi, whose strong current at last carried them to its mouth. There on April 9, 1682, La Salle set up a cross, to which were nailed



the arms of France, and took possession of all the country drained by the mighty river.

Louisiana and Canada. — All the land drained by the Mississippi and its branches La Salle called Louisiana, in honor of his king, Louis XIV, while all the region drained by the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was known as New France. But though in size these territories were enormous, Louisiana had as yet no white inhabitants, and New France (Canada) very few. The condition of New France led Louis XIV to send out yearly one hundred young women, "The King's Maidens," to become the wives of settlers.

Last Efforts of La Salle. — Aware of the importance of his discovery, La Salle returned to France for the purpose of collecting colonists and making a settlement on the Mississippi. Louis XIV assisted him in fitting out a fleet of four ships. With these the explorer arrived in the Gulf of Mexico; but his pilots missed the mouth of the great river and carried him to Matagorda Bay, far to the west. After two years of privation and distress, the courageous La Salle, leaving a little garrison at his fort on Matagorda Bay, attempted with members of his party to travel on foot to Canada. But he had not gone far when one of his treacherous followers lying in ambush shot him to death.

After years of endeavor La Salle had met with almost complete failure. Like Joliet he had been educated in a Jesuit college and like him, too, had sought fame and fortune in the Mississippi Valley. Both were renowned explorers, but neither was sustained by the missionary zeal that inspired Marquette.

New Orleans Settled (1718). — To be in advance of the English, a brave soldier named Iberville (ē-ber-vēl') built a stockade and made a settlement at Bilox'i on the coast of what is now the state of Mississippi. During more than

fifteen years this colony, which was soon moved near the site of the present city of Mobile, struggled on, but never prospered. Then steps were taken to plant a settlement on the banks of the Mississippi, and in 1718 Bienville (byan-vēl') founded New Orleans.

Coureurs de Bois. — The profits of the fur trade were great, but not every Frenchman was allowed to engage in the traffic. Nevertheless, many fearless young men without a license went into the wilderness and on their own. account hunted, and trapped, and traded. These dwellers of the woods, known as coureurs de bois (koo-rer' deh bwah'), built trading posts in distant places and often married native women. Not only the zeal of the Jesuits, who had hoped to Christianize the continent, but also the attractions of the fur trade, which suggested dreams of wealth, led to long and dangerous journeys in the wilderness. Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle were only three among many Frenchmen who made known great inland seas and majestic rivers. Some of the finest examples of heroic achievement recorded in history are to be found in the careers of the men who revealed the extent and the resources of the American wilderness.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Give an account of Father Jogues; also of Father Le Jeune. Tell the story of Brèbeuf and Lalemant. What was the achievement of Marquette and Joliet? Relate the exploits of La Salle. Who founded New Orleans? When was it founded? At that time there were eleven British colonies on the North American mainland; name them.

References. — Parkman, The Jesuits in North America; Thwaites, The Colonies (Epochs of American History, Vol. I); The Jesuit Relations, edited and translated by Thwaites.

CHAPTER XI

THE INTERCOLONIAL WARS

It is not possible in this book fully to state the causes or to describe the progress of the four intercolonial wars, or wars between England and France in America, which extended from 1689 to 1763. The first three were due to wars in Europe, but the fourth and last began in America.

King William's War. — In 1685, as we have seen, James II, a Roman Catholic, became king of England, but his subjects preferred for their ruler a foreign prince who was a Protestant. Moreover, James was greatly lacking in tact. When Englishmen, therefore, invited William of Orange to be their king, James went to France, where he was supported by Louis XIV. These events led to a war between the two powers in 1689.

The Massacre of Lachine. — Between the frontiers of New France and those of New England were the Abnaki (ab-nah'ke) Indians. These as well as the tribes of Canada were on the side of the French, while some tribes remained neutral.¹ However, in central New York were the Iroquois, who, because of Champlain's attack (page 41), were bitter enemies of the French. This feeling had long shown itself in destructive wars between Indians and white men. At last, during the winter of 1687–1688, peace appeared to be

¹ Thirteen years before this, during King Philip's War (page 82), Major Waldron had treacherously seized at Dover, New Hampshire, three hundred unsuspecting Indians and shipped most of them to Boston to be sold into slavery. The memory of the deed was still fresh. On June 27, 1689, Penacook Indians took the town, murdered Waldron with twenty others, and carried twenty-nine into captivity.

established between the French and the Iroquois. But instead the fires of war were rekindled by the wily machinations of "the Rat," a Huron chief, and were fanned by the influence of Leisler and others in New York.

On the night of August 5, 1689, without yet knowing that there was war between England and France, 1400 Iroquois



STATUE OF GOVERNOR FRONTENAC

silently paddled to Montreal Island in a storm of rain and hail. Steatthily they left their canoes and noiselessly surrounded every house in the sleeping village of Lachine (lah-shēn). At a signal, torch and tomahawk began their dreadful work. Two hundred men, women, and children were butchered. The Iroquois occupied part of the island till Canada was in terror.

Massacre of Schenectady. The situation required a man of action, and one was found in Governor Frontenac. Roused to desperation, the veteran governor resolved to overawe the Iroquois by attacks on the English. In the winter of 1689-1690 he formed on the St. Lawrence River three war parties of French

and Indians. The band which assembled at Montreal was to march against New York; that gathered at Three Rivers was instructed to waste the frontier of New Hampshire; while a force from Quebec was to ravage the settlements of Maine.

The party from Montreal started southward in midwinter. In a wild storm in February, 1690, they made their way on snowshoes and at midnight entered the fortified village of Schencetady, the nearest of the English outposts (map, page 145), and massacred sixty-three of its inhabitants. At the request of the French some were spared by the Indians and a few, who escaped half-clothed, made their way to Albany, sixteen miles away. After burning the village, the war party hurried back to Canada with their prisoners and booty.

Salmon Falls and Portland.—In March, Frontenac's second war party fell upon Salmon Falls, near Dover, New Hampshire, laid the village in ashes, killed about thirty, and carried into the wilderness about thirty prisoners. Then uniting with the third party they attacked and took Fort Loyal on the site of Portland, Maine. There they killed or led into captivity most of the inhabitants.

End of the War. Alarmed at the activity of Governor Frontenac and his Indian allies, a congress was held in New York. It was there agreed to undertake the conquest of Canada. A New England fleet, with a few hundred militia under William Phips, had already sailed for Port Royal, which was captured and pillaged. Later in the year, Phips with a fleet and about two thousand militia appeared before Quebec and demanded its surrender. Frontenac refused and skillfully defended the place during a seige of eight days, when Phips and his expedition sailed back to Boston.

The French recovered Port Royal and thereafter the English chiefly confined themselves to the defense of their settlements. The treaty of Ryswick, 1697, put an end to the useless slaughter. A few years later, the Iroquois made peace with the French and their allies.

Queen Anne's War.—It was agreed, by the terms of the treaty of Ryswick, that Louis XIV would recognize William III as the lawful ruler of England, but in 1701 King James II died, and his son was acknowledged by the French king as "James III," the rightful king of England.

For this and other reasons England in 1702 declared war upon France. The struggle in America is known as Queen Anne's War, from the name of the English queen who succeeded William.

The War in the South. — As Spain was now allied with France there was war between the English colony of Carolina and the Spanish colony of Florida, and unsuccessful attacks were made on St. Augustine and Charleston. During the war, however, Colonel Moore, of South Carolina, with a force of English and Indians, succeeded in destroying St. Marks and other missions of the Apalachee Indians. The Franciscans who directed the missions went out to beg for mercy, but were cruelly put to death. Hundreds of the Christian Indians were massacred and fourteen hundred seized by Colonel Moore. Of these some were sold into slavery in the West Indies, while others were kept to cultivate his fields.¹

The War in the North.—A small band of New England colonists attacked and pillaged a French-Indian house on the Penobscot River in Maine, and the Indians of the East were easily aroused to war. In February, 1704, the village of Deerfield, Massachusetts, was raided by French and Indians; forty-nine of the English were killed and about one hundred more made prisoners. For the second time Haverhill was attacked and partly destroyed.

Capture of Port Royal. — Two fruitless attempts were made by the English to take Port Royal, but in a third attack in 1710 it was captured and in honor of the queen named Annapolis. Acadia was renamed Nova Scotia. Encouraged by the conquest of a province, a great fleet

¹ During the progress of this war the Tuscarora Indians fell upon the settlers of North Carolina, but in 1713 were overpowered by the assistance of a party from South Carolina. This reverse led the survivors of the tribe to move northward into New York and join the Five Nations of their Iroquois kinsmen, thus making the famous confederacy of the Six Nations.

was prepared in England for the capture of Quebec. At the same time an army marched against Montreal. Disaster having overtaken the fleet, the commander of the land force returned to Albany.

Territorial Changes. — At last the war was ended in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht (u'trekt). By its provisions France was forced to give up to Great Britain the country known as Acadia, the island of Newfoundland, and all the territory drained by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. These losses were counterbalanced by the acquisition of Louisiana (page 135).

King George's War. — The third of the French and English intercolonial wars lasted from 1744 to 1748. In 1745 Sir William Pepperell, of Massachusetts, with an army of 3000 and the assistance of a fleet, took the strong fortress of Louisburg, which the French had constructed at great expense. In 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (shah-pel'), the war was brought to an end. All conquests were restored. This arrangement, which displeased New England, gave Louisburg back to the French.

The French in the Ohio Valley. — At this time the French began systematically to strengthen their hold on the Mississippi Valley. As early as 1749 a party of soldiers under

¹ In the course of Queen Anne's War an effort was made to persuade the Abnaki Indians to remain neutral, but this did not succeed. Failing in their object, the English colonists resolved to punish the tribe and especially its spiritual guide, Father Sebastian Rasle (rahl), who was suspected by them of encouraging the Indians in their unfriendly feeling for the New England settlers. In 1705 they burned his church and the village of Norridgewock, on the Kennebec River. Everything, including his papers and even his inkstand, was carried off. Though representing the toil of years, his Abnaki dictionary, still preserved at Harvard University, was made a part of the plunder. In 1724, also a season of peace, a party of English and Mohawks, during the absence of many Abnaki warriors, surprised the little village. The aged priest rushed from his chapel to assist his people, but after a volley he was found dead at the foot of the mission cross. Seven chiefs shared his fate.

Céleron de Bienville (sāl-rawn' deh byăn-vēl') left Montreal to take possession of the Ohio country. On a branch of the Allegheny River, the men were drawn up and the King of France was proclaimed sovereign of all the lands drained by the Ohio. The ceremony was completed by burying a lead plate at the foot of a tree. By the French these events



WASHINGTON AT FORT LE BOEUF

were generally recorded by a notary. An inscription on the plate stated the claim of French ownership.¹

The party of Céleron also buried plates at other places along the Ohio. Two bands of English traders found in the country were requested to inform their governors that if their people persisted in coming, it would be necessary to expel them by force. The English entirely disregarded this warning.

Aware of what the English were doing, the French in 1752 built three log forts on the route from Lake Erie to the Allegheny River: one at Presque Isle, where the city of Erie now stands; one twenty miles inland, at Le Boeuf; and one at Venango on the Allegheny.

Dinwiddie's Protest.—Alarmed by the tidings that the French were building forts in a region claimed by England, Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, sent a messenger request-

¹ Translated into English the inscription on the plate read: "We have placed this plate here as a memorial of the establishment of our power in the territory which is claimed by us on the Ohio River, and throughout its tributaries to its source, and confirmed by the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle."

ing their withdrawal, but his envoy became frightened and returned. He then selected for the mission George Washington, adjutant general of the colony.¹

The business of Washington was to find the French commander, deliver the governor's letter, and request an answer. At the same time he was to learn the location and the strength of the new forts. In midwinter Washington made the journey in safety to Fort Le Boeuf, delivered Governor Dinwiddie's note, and returned with a report of the polite but firm refusal of the French officer to withdraw.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

English Driven from the Ohio. — In 1754 Dinwiddie ordered the erection of a fort at the forks of the Ohio, a point guarding the entrance to the valley. On April 17, while engaged on this work, the English were driven away by a party of French and Indians, who planned and completed a post named Fort DuQuesne (kān) in honor of their governor.

Great Meadows. — Meanwhile the governor of Virginia was not inactive. He sent Washington, who had satisfactorily performed his first public service, toward the Ohio with soldiers. Hearing of the expulsion of the English from the forks of the Ohio, Washington began marching in that direction. He was told by an Indian that a French force was concealed close at hand. On his approach next day the French flew to arms and in a sharp fight that followed, Jumonville, their commander, and nine of his men were killed.

After this skirmish Washington built at Great Meadows an earthwork which he named Fort Necessity. Thence he resumed his westward march, but on hearing that a strong

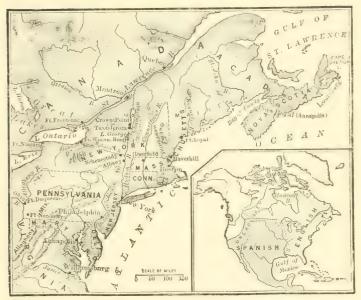
¹ Washington's brothers were members of the Ohio Company, which had been chartered by Great Britain for trade and settlement in the Ohio Valley.

French force was approaching, he returned to the protection of the fort. There he was attacked, and on July 4, 1754, after a brave resistance, was forced to surrender and retreat.

Albany Convention. — From what has been said it is clear that the westward expansion of England's colonies was at an end unless they could break the chain of French forts which confined them to the country east of the Alleghenies. To organize for this purpose the Lords of Trade ordered the holding at Albany of a convention to attach to the English cause the Six Nations of Iroquois Indians. Only seven of the thirteen provinces sent delegates to this congress.

In the Albany convention Benjamin Franklin offered a famous plan for the union and government of England's colonies, but while it was accepted by the delegates it was rejected by the colonial legislatures and opposed in England by the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

Braddock's Expedition. — In 1755 the British government sent Major-General Edward Braddock to take command of their forces in America. At a meeting of the colonial governors, held at Alexandria, Virginia, it was decided to send several expeditions against French forts. One of them, under the command of General Braddock himself, made its way toward Fort DuQuesne. When he was within eight miles of that post, July 9, 1755, he suddenly came face to face with an army of French and Indians. The enemy, instantly vanishing behind trees and bushes, poured a merciless fire into the ranks of the British. As Braddock refused to allow his men to fight in Indian fashion. they stood huddled together in groups, splendid targets for the French and their allies. At last the extent of his losses compelled him to order a retreat, and had it not been for Washington and his Virginians the British regulars would



WARS WITH THE FRENCH

NORTH AMERICA IN 1763

probably have perished to a man. Wounded in the battle, Braddock died soon afterward.

Other Failures in 1755. — General Shirley, with another expedition, set out from Albany to take Fort Niagara. But when he arrived at Oswego, he received tidings of Braddock's disaster and moved no farther. A third expedition, led by William Johnson, was to have taken Crown Point on Lake Champlain. It advanced to the head of Lake George, where it defeated a French force under General Dieskau. But instead of going on, General Johnson remained at Lake George, where he built Fort William Henry.

The Exile of the Acadians (1755). — Meanwhile some Massachusetts militia were sent to Acadia, most of which for forty years had been a British possession with a French

population. The military value of this campaign was slight, but for other reasons the results were singularly important. On June 1, 1755, a landing was made and after a little fighting the French forts on the border were captured. To the Acadian people the conquerors offered the oath of allegiance to King George II, but this they refused to take.

It was then decided to remove the Acadian population. Readers of *Evangeline* are familiar with the story of Grand Pré. From that point, before December, 1755, there were shipped 2100 men, women, and children. From Fort Edward, Annapolis, and elsewhere other thousands at the point of the bayonet were forced to bid adieu to fields and homes. In all, some 6000 human beings, landless, houseless, and friendless, were driven forth into an unsympathetic world. Nowhere were they welcomed by the English colonists. In time many of these wanderers found their way to Louisiana; a few returned to Acadia.

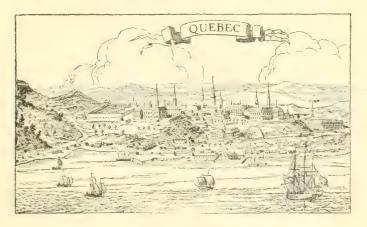
Arrival of Montcalm. — In 1756 war was declared in Europe. The conflict there, known as the Seven Years' War, kept French armies employed at home. The king of France, however, sent over to Canada the Marquis de Montcalm with 1200 men. The new commander won over most of the Indians to the side of France, captured and burned Oswego (1756) and Fort William Henry (1757), and threatened to send a strong fleet against New England.

Surrender of Louisburg. — In the year 1758 Louisburg, which had cost \$10,000,000 to fortify, was compelled to yield to a joint military and naval force under General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen. In the same year Washington took Fort DuQuesne, which in honor of the great English statesman was renamed Fort Pitt.

Repulse at Ticonderoga. — On July 8, 1758, General Abercromby, with an army estimated at 15,000, made a furious assault on the strong post of Ticonderoga. With 3100

men Montcalm defended the fort. The battle raged all day in front of Ticonderoga, its outlying breastworks, and its effective defense of fallen trees. When the British withdrew, under cover of night, they had lost almost 2000 in killed, wounded, and missing. The French commander reported a loss of 377.

The Fall of Quebec. — The task of taking Ticonderoga as well as Crown Point was then assigned to General Am-



QUEBEC IN 1759

herst, who slowly forced the French to give way. In the meantime General Wolfe had attacked and with his cannon had destroyed the lower town of Quebec. Montcalm, whose skill and courage had been proved, held the upper town with a large army.

On the 13th of September, 1759, General Wolfe with 9000 men had found a winding way, both difficult and dangerous, that led him during the night to the Plains of Abraham, near Quebec. The last of the English had barely climbed the heights when the French rushed to the attack.

Both commanders were mortally wounded in the bloody battle that followed, but the victory was with the British. To the memory of Montcalm and Wolfe, Canada has erected a monument bearing this inscription: "Valor gave a united death, History a united fame, Posterity a united monument." Montreal was taken by General Amherst in the course of the next year (1760), and the war in Canada quickly came to an end.

Terms of Peace. — During the progress of the war Spain was persuaded to go in on the side of France. In the year 1762 British forces captured both Havana and Manila. A treaty of peace was signed at Paris on February 10, 1763. In return for the restoration of Cuba, Spain gave Florida to Great Britain, while the Philippines were given back to Spain on the promise of a ransom.

To compensate Spain for her loss France gave her New Orleans and all that part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi. To England she ceded everything except New Orleans that she claimed to the east of that river; also all her possessions in Canada except two small islands near Newfoundland. In a word, the end of the French and Indian War found France stripped of her North American possessions.

The Proclamation Line. — Having thus won an immense territory, England had to take measures for its government. A proclamation of 1763 fixed the boundaries of Quebec, and from that province southward it drew a line "beyond the sources of the rivers which flow into the Atlantic from the west and northwest." Beyond this limit no colonial governor was to grant land. For a time the tracts thus cut off were to be reserved for the Indians.

Besides defining the limits of Quebec and setting apart a

¹ The southern boundary of Quebec became the northern limit of New York and New England.

vast Indian reservation, the proclamation of 1763 created two new provinces, namely, East Florida and West Florida.

Pontiac's War. — Though the Canadians were weary of war, they did not object to an Indian attack on the English. In 1762, before the treaty of Paris, Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas, sent his messengers with bloodstained tomahawks among all the tribes from the Ohio to the Upper Lakes and thence through all the lands to the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1763 the bands of the crafty chief attacked Detroit. Le Bocuf and Venango were surprised and burned, Presque Isle was captured, and the Pennsylvania frontier laid waste. Between the mouth of the Oswego and the Strait of Mackinaw the Indians took from the English ten of their fourteen posts. During 1763 and 1764, however, Colonel Bouquet with a British army defeated them in many engagements. and the Indian warfare, which at one time threatened to sweep off every white man to the west of the Susquehanna, suddenly ceased.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Describe the massacre of Lachine. How did Canada retaliate?

Give the chief events of Queen Anne's War. When and by what treaty was it ended? Describe the death of Father Rasle.

What was the chief English victory of King George's War?

What is said of the French occupation of the Ohio Valley? What led to the French and Indian War?

Give an account of Braddock's defeat. Tell the story of the exile of the Acadians. What was the effect of the coming of Montcalm? Describe his defeat of the English at Ticonderoga. How and when did General Wolfe take Quebec? What was the extent of the French losses?

Describe Pontiac's War.

References.—Sloane, The French War and the Revolution; Thwaites, The Colonies (Epochs of American History Vol. I); Fisher, The Colonial Era; Edouard Richard, Acadia.

CHAPTER XII

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Public Debt of England. — Though England had won the French and Indian War, from the time of King William, 1689, her public debt had been growing steadily until in 1763 it amounted to £140,000,000.¹ This sum was thought to be too great to be paid by one small island. Some statesmen believed that future expenses should be borne by all parts of the empire. The American colonies, it was thought, would pay their share of any tax laid by Parliament.

Taxes and Troops. — The new system included a strict enforcement of the Navigation Acts and a purpose of sending to America a body of 10,000 British troops for whose support it was decided to provide, at least in part, by a tax on the colonies. From their agent in London the people of Massachusetts had heard of the intention of England. Accordingly a Boston town meeting appointed a committee to prepare instructions for the agent.

The Boston Instructions. — In its report the committee just mentioned declared: "If taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves? . . . we further desire you to use your endeavors that their weight may be added to the weight of this province that by the united application of all who are aggrieved, all may obtain redress."

In these instructions is found the first public denial of the

 $^{^{\}mathtt{1}}$ This would be equivalent to about \$700,000,000.

right of Parliament to tax the colonies without their consent and the first hint of a union to secure a redress of grievances. In December preceding, Patrick Henry had shocked the feelings of Virginians when he declared that a king who disallows good laws, from being the father of his people "degenerates into a tyrant and forfeits all right to obedience."

The Stamp Act. — When it became known in America that there was in England a purpose to tax the colonies, Americans offered to tax themselves for their share of public expense, but as the prime minister had little faith in their methods, he resolved to prepare a revenue bill of his own, known as the Stamp Act. About the only opposition in Parliament to its passage came from members of Irish birth or from those who had estates in the West Indies or in Ireland. Colonel Barré spoke eloquently against it and described the Americans as "Sons of Liberty," a name by which the opponents of the Stamp Act soon came to be known. In March, 1765, the bill became a law.

The new law, which was to go into effect on November 1, 1765, provided that all bills, deeds, notes, mortgages, marriage certificates, and other documents were to be made out on stamped paper or on paper to which stamps were affixed. Pamphlets and newspapers also were to be printed on stamped sheets. In value the stamps ranged from three pence to ten pounds. Money from this source was not to be sent to England, but was to be expended in the colonies for the support of British troops there.

American Opposition. — Virginia was the first to declare her opposition. At that time Patrick Henry, perhaps the greatest of colonial orators, was a member of its House of Burgesses. His fiery eloquence caused that body to adopt

¹ When the act was signed, King George III was suffering from the first of several attacks of insanity.

a set of resolutions which stated that by two royal charters the people of Virginia had been declared entitled to all the rights of Englishmen born within the realm of England, that one of these rights was that of being taxed by their own Assembly; and that without its consent, they were not bound to obey any law taxing them.

In answer to the call of Massachusetts, delegates from nine of the thirteen colonies met at New York in October,



PATRICK HENRY

1765, and framed a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists in America." To support this declaration many merchants entered into an agreement to buy no more British goods until the Stamp Act was repealed.

The distributors of stamps were appointed late in the summer, but before November every one of them had been forced by the colonists to resign his office. In all the New England colonies there was rioting.

In Boston, Oliver, the stamp agent, was burned in effigy. There was disorder in New York, in New Jersey, and in Pennsylvania, and rioting at Annapolis, Maryland. As the 1st of November drew near, stamps were carefully sought out and when found were given to the flames. In a little while there were neither stamps nor men to sell them.

Repeal of the Stamp Act. — As American merchants had stopped importing British wares, the merchants of England found goods accumulating on their hands. This was not all, for returning ships brought back cargoes that they had taken to sell in the colonies. By the end of the year the signs of distress in the manufacturing cities of England were so marked that Parliament was forced to repeal the hated

law. The repeal, which took place in March, 1766, was coupled with a measure known as the Declaratory Act, in which Parliament declared that it had the right to tax the colonies if it was deemed necessary. Nevertheless, the repeal of the Stamp Act was followed by general rejoicing.

The Townshead Acts. — In the year 1767 there was begun a quarrel that was destined to continue until the British Empire was divided. The cause of the new alarm was the passage of the Townshead Acts. One of these provided for laying taxes on tea, glass, paints, paper, and painters' colors imported into the colonies. These duties were not heavy, but they were laid by Parliament, a body in which America was not represented. Also the money raised was to pay the salaries of colonial judges and thus make them independent of the colonial legislatures.

The assembly of Massachusetts sent a letter to each of the other colonial legislatures urging them to unite and to consult about their rights. Once more unsold goods were returned to England because both merchants and people had renewed their agreement to buy no British merchandise.

Legislatures Dissolved. — The Massachusetts legislature was ordered to recall its letter to the other colonies. This, by a large majority, the members refused to do. In opposing the Townshend Acts, Massachusetts was supported by Virginia, whose stand was influenced by Patrick Henry and George Washington. The House of Burgesses passed resolutions condemning the new system of taxation and upholding the right of the colonies to petition the Crown.

The legislature of Massachusetts was dissolved by its governor for refusing to recall its letter; that of New York for failing to provide for British troops, and that of Virginia for complaining of the treatment of New York. This frequent suspension of legislatures greatly interfered with public business.

The Boston "Massacre." — In 1768 two regiments of British troops were landed in Boston to assist in enforcing the Townshend Acts. The legislature refused to provide them with either quarters or supplies; the people disliked their presence. On the night of March 5, 1770, a false alarm of fire brought many people into the streets. Finding a soldier on duty, they amused themselves by taunting and finally striking him. A rumor that this sentinel had



THE BOSTON "MASSACRE"

been killed brought in haste a corporal with six soldiers. The crowd greeted the soldiers with cries of "Lobsters! Bloody-backs! Rascals!" Snowballs at first and then stones were thrown. In the excitement one of the soldiers discharged a gun. The others followed his example. When the firing had ceased, it was found that five of the rioters lay on the ground dead or dying. Half a dozen others were severely wounded.

In the trial which followed, two of the soldiers were con-

victed of manslaughter, branded, and dismissed. On the day after the shooting a town meeting held at Faneuil Hall expressed its indignation at the conduct of the troops and appointed Samuel Adams to call on Governor Hutchinson and request their removal. It was not, however, until Adams assumed an attitude of menace and pointed to the angry thousands who had sent him that the Governor yielded and ordered the troops removed from Boston to an island in the harbor.

Other Collisions. — In the following year there was a pitched battle between American and British forces on the Alamance in North Carolina. A third collison, off the coast of Rhode Island in 1772, resulted in the destruction of the British warship *Gaspee*.

In North Carolina justice was uncertain, and lawsuits expensive. This condition forced the peaceful farmers to organize and to protect themselves. But no reform in government followed their protests. They were accused on slight pretexts and their leaders were cast into prison without trial. This sort of tyranny led to the organization of a body of 1200 armed men, whose leaders tried to meet Governor Tryon, commanding a disciplined force about as large. He refused to discuss their grievances and demanded unconditional surrender. Then followed, May 16, 1771, a bloody battle on the Alamance in which discipline prevailed where courage was equal. Twenty colonists were killed and many more captured; twenty of the king's soldiers were wounded and nine killed. In all, seven of the colonists were hanged for taking part in the outbreak; one was put to death without trial. With revenge in their hearts many of the impoverished frontiersmen crossed the mountains into the Tennessee country.

² Trade with the West Indies was an important source of wealth to all New England. For the timber, the fish, and the cattle that her captains took thither they brought back cargoes of sugar and molasses. In 1733 an act of Parliament placed a duty on sugar and molasses imported from any but British colonies, and in 1764 the act was renewed in a form greatly to the disadvantage of the colonists. The number of revenue officers was increased, and to assist them in enforcing the law warships patrolled the harbors and the coast. In a short time property of the value of £3000 was swept into prize courts. If the law of 1764 was to be carefully enforced, it would destroy the trade with the French West Indies, for if the French planters could not sell their sugar and molasses, they would not buy fish. The British warship Gaspee watched the coast of Rhode Island for smug-

Duty on Tea Retained. — On the very day of the Bostor "Massacre" a motion was made in Parliament to repeal all the taxes laid by the Townshend Acts except that on tea. Soon they were repealed; but the tax of 3 pence a pound on tea, payable at American ports, was kept merely to show that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies. An arrangement of Parliament enabled Americans to buy tea cheaper from the British East India Company than they could get the smuggled article from Holland, but they refused to purchase it because the price concealed a tax. In other words, they were contending for a principle.

In 1773 cargoes of tea were sent to Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, and Boston, consigned to agents of the East India Company. A mass meeting in Philadelphia denounced the new attempt at taxation and demanded the resignation of the Company's agents. They promptly complied. The tea ship was stopped in the Delaware and in a few days its captain sailed it back to England. In Charleston the agents resigned, and the tea was landed and stored away by the customs officers. In New York the Sons of Liberty secured the resignation of the agents, while bands of "Mohawks" ordered the harbor pilots not to bring the tea ship nearer than Sandy Hook. Thereupon the vessel returned to England.

The "Boston Tea Party." — In Boston the Company's agents refused to resign, but the shipowners were persuaded not to land the tea. However, if the cargoes were

glers. In the line of his duty its captain destroyed property of the colonists. On the 9th of June, 1772, the daring skipper of the Providence packet, which the Gaspee had intended to overhaul and search, led the king's ship into shoal water, where she ran aground. On the following night a party of disguised men boarded her, and, after a conflict in which her commander was wounded, seized and landed him and his crew, at the same time setting fire to his vessel.

not discharged within twenty days, the customhouse officials could legally seize and unload the ships. Having once entered port, the vessels could not leave without clearance papers from the collector or a pass from the governor.

On the 16th of December, 1773, seven thousand people attended town meeting. The owner of the first of the tea ships to arrive in the harbor had gone to the country home of the governor to get a pass for his vessel, but at night he returned without it. As the revenue officials would soon

visit the ship, something had to be done at once. It was therefore decided that a small party disguised as Indians should board the ships, break open the chests, and spill the tea into the harbor. This was done without any interruption. Such was the celebrated "Boston Tea Party."

The Intolerable Acts of 1774.

— When the destruction of the tea became known in England, angry speeches were made in Parliament, and some of the more extreme members urged harsh treatment for Boston. The King



EDMUND BURKE

resolved to make of Massachusetts, an old offender, an example for the other provinces. Lord North, who became prime minister in 1770, prepared several measures of punishment which were passed by the Parliament, although Fox, Burke, and a few others ably opposed them.

The first of the so-called intolerable acts was the Boston Port Bill. This closed the harbor of Boston to all trade until the owners had been paid for the tea that was destroyed, and until the king was satisfied that the city would obey the laws.

The second of these acts practically set aside the charter of Massachusetts. Members of the council, formerly elected, could under the new law be appointed by the king and at his pleasure removed. Except for the election of officers town meetings could not be held without the consent of the governor.

Under the third act magistrates, revenue officers, or other officials indicted in Massachusetts for capital offenses, such as murder and treason, were to be tried either in Nova Scotia or in Great Britain. This was the "Transportation Bill."

Still another act required the colony of Massachusetts to provide quarters for British soldiers.

By the fifth of the intolerable acts the province of Quebec was extended to the Ohio River. French law was restored in that province, and the Catholic faith established. The English people regarded French law as despotic, and the "mother country" gravely offended the Puritans by granting to the Catholics of Quebec full toleration in matters of religion.

Political Parties. — When George III came to the throne in 1760, he depended for the success of his plans upon the Tories, while the friends of America were almost certain to be found among the Whigs.² Those in America who remained loyal to King George III came to be known as Tories or *Loyalists*. The colonial patriots were sometimes called Whigs.

¹ Edmund Burke, who delivered on this occasion one of his greatest speeches, said that this law punished the innocent with the guilty. Marblehead, a port near Salem, was made the location of the customhouse.

² It is not strictly correct to divide the British people into Whigs and Tories, for there were numerous factions, all striving for places and speculating in American lands.

Committees of Correspondence. — Up to 1772 most of the colonists thought of only the repeal of unfair laws. Though Samuel Adams did not overlook so desirable an object, he was thinking of something far greater. By 1772, if not earlier, he was convinced that nothing short of complete independence would satisfy the people. Looking to that end, he perfected a system by which even the most distant towns could be informed of the rights of the colonies, and of the nature of every dispute with King George or his Parliament. The people of Massachusetts were made acquainted with events through a "committee of correspondence." Virginia saw the merits of the plan and at once appointed committees to correspond with the other colonies.

First Continental Congress. - In May, 1774, General Gage, with more soldiers, came to Boston to act as commander of the British forces and as military governor of Massachusetts. When Virginia heard of the Boston Port Bill, its legislature ordered the day on which the act was to take effect observed as a fast day and a day of prayer. For this the governor dissolved the assembly, but the members met in a room near by and voted to call a congress. About fifty-five delegates, representing all the colonies except Georgia, met at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, as the First Continental Congress. That body had for its object "the union of Great Britain and the colonies on a constitutional foundation." A petition for the redress of grievances was sent to the King, and other addresses to the inhabitants of Quebec, the people of the colonies, and the English nation. This Congress also published a declaration of rights.

Preparations for War. The Congress adjourned on the 25th of October to meet again during the following year if necessary. The autumn months were filled with activity. The militia began drilling, muskets and ammunition were

collected, and express riders chosen. An outbreak was likely to occur anywhere, but most likely in Massachusetts.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What was England's debt at the close of the French and Indian War? What policy did it lead the government to adopt? What were the Boston Instructions? Discuss the Stamp Act; also the non-importation agreement. When was the Stamp Act repealed?

To what did the presence of British soldiers lead in Boston? What other collisions took place? What was the result of retaining the duty on tea? Name the Intolerable Acts. What were the committees of correspondence? When and where did the First Continental Congress assemble? What was the nature of its official action?

References. — John Fiske, The American Revolution, Vol. I; Lecky, History of England, Chapter XII; Sloane, The French War and the Revolution; Trevelyan, The American Revolution, Part I.

ERA OF INDEPENDENCE

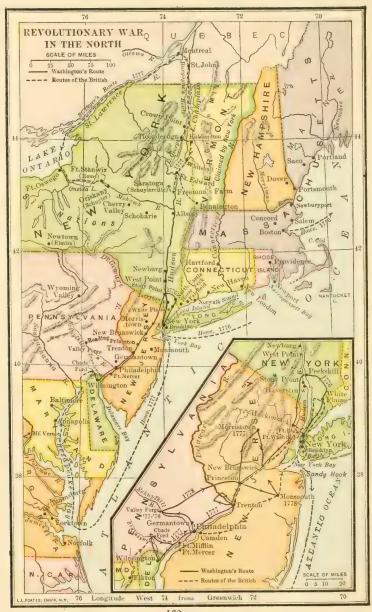
CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR IN NEW ENGLAND (1775-1776); INDEPENDENCE DECLARED

Lexington. — An act of General Gage put an end to all suspense. Hearing that the patriots were collecting military and other supplies, he sent from Boston on the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, eight hundred regulars under command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn with instructions to destroy the stores that had been collected at Concord, a village twenty miles distant. His purpose was to be kept secret, but the patriots of Boston divined his plans and sent out riders to alarm the country. These were William Dawes and Paul Revere. On the road to Concord the British found drawn up on the the village green of Lexington about sixty minutemen 1 under Captain Parker. "Disperse, ye rebels!" commanded Pitcairn, but not a man obeyed. Then was given the order to fire. The troops hesitating, Pitcairn fired his pistol. This was followed by a volley, which killed or wounded sixteen minutemen. Thereupon Captain Parker ordered his men to retire. The regulars marched on.

The Fight at Concord. — By seven o'clock on the morning of April 19 the British reached Concord. That place had been occupied by a few hundred militia, but on the approach of so strong a force they prudently retired to the

¹ Minutemen were those members of the militia who promised to turn out for service at a minute's notice. They had been enrolled, by an act of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, on November 23, 1774.



hills beyond the town, taking with them some cannon. The British destroyed the supplies that were left behind and set fire to the village courthouse. The minutemen who retired to the hills had not run away, but merely waited until their numbers increased. Guided by the smoke, men crowded in from every quarter, and, when they felt strong



THE OLD NORTH BRIDGE, CONCORD

enough, they descended the hill and in a sharp fight drove the British from the North Bridge.

What began as an orderly retreat of the British soon became a rout. Minutemen, constantly increasing in numbers, posted in and around houses, trees, and thickets, poured a destructive fire into the ranks of the British until the rout became almost a panic flight. Meanwhile, to support the first expedition, General Gage sent out Lord Percy with his main force amounting to 1200 men. These fresh troops met the weary and hunted fugitives near Lexington and saved them from almost certain destruction. By sundown the surviving British forces arrived in Boston. In the fighting of the afternoon the colonists lost eighty-eight killed, wounded, and missing; on the side of the British



ETHAN ALLEN

two hundred and seventy-three were killed or wounded. The militia did not return to their homes. They remained in the field and began to besiege Boston.

Ticonderoga Surprised. — A party to surprise Ticonderoga was organized in Connecticut, but patriots from the Green Mountains and from Massachusetts also assisted. Though Benedict Arnold desired the command, the soldiers preferred to serve under Ethan Allen. During the night a company of eighty-three rowed across Lake Champlain and early on the morning of May 10, 1775, while the garrison was asleep, moved silently on the fort. Allen and Arnold entered shoulder to shoulder. So complete was the surprise that resistance was useless. Allen summoned the

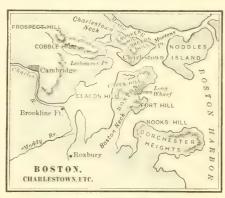
dazed captain to surrender. "In whose name?" asked the frightened officer. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" came the answer. The cannon and other supplies then captured were of much value to the patriot cause. A few days later Crown Point was captured.

Second Continental Congress. — Though Congress was created to advise the colonies, yet before long it was forced to govern them. After some hesitation it took into its

service the army of farmers besieging Boston and unanimously appointed as commander in chief George Washington, a leader of whom we have heard, and a delegate from Virginia. On consenting to serve, Washington refused any salary, but arranged for the repayment of his expenses.

Battle of Bunker Hill. — In Boston, meanwhile, General Gage had received additional troops until his army amounted

to 10,000 regulars. He now felt confident that he could drive back the besieging army of 16,000 patriots. Once more the purpose of a British general seems to have been guessed, for on the night of June 16 Colonel Prescott with 1200 men was ordered to throw up earthworks on



BOSTON AND VICINITY IN 1775

Bunker Hill. He fortified Breed's Hill, next to Bunker Hill, instead.

Fearing that the Americans would quickly put guns in position on Breed's Hill, and thus command the city, General Gage sent at three o'clock in the afternoon, June 17, 1775, more than two thousand troops to disperse the Americans and hold the hill. Crossing in boats from Boston, they speedily formed and, directed by General Howe, gallantly dashed up the slope; but they received a fire so well aimed that they were driven back. After an interval a second charge was made and repulsed with equal skill. The next interval was longer; then the English moved with fixed bayonets, their Boston battery also playing on the

American position. There was left in the patriot lines but a single round of powder; when that had been used there were



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

only stones and empty muskets with which to hold the works. The end of this unequal contest was easily foreseen. Though driven from their defenses, the Americans were not routed, for they threw up intrenchments near Cambridge and stood on the defensive: and the King's soldiers were not able to follow up their advantage. Of the American army in the battle of Bunker Hill 449 were killed, wounded, and missing; the English losses were far heavier,

1054 having been killed or wounded. Among the patriot dead was Dr. Joseph Warren.

Washington in Command. — On the 3rd of July, 1775, at Cambridge, George Washington took command of the American army. Though he was expected to organize from the material around him a force of 20,000 soldiers, because of the lack of money and other obstacles he could train only 14,000. Every effort was made to collect guns and ammunition, while drill was constant.

Invasion of Canada. — Congress resolved on an invasion of Canada. Accordingly two expeditions were planned.

¹ Up to this time the elderly General Ward, assisted by Colonel Prescott and Israel Putnam, had directed the siege of Boston, including the battle of Bunker Hill, but his arrangements were not effective.

One small army under General Richard Montgomery was to move by way of Lake Champlain. Another under Benedict Arnold was to follow the course of the Kennebec River. Arnold's troops, in traversing two hundred miles of wilderness,

nearly perished of fatigue and hunger. At last, on November 13, with seven hundred survivors he took position on the heights above Quebec and waited for Montgomery to join him.

Meanwhile Montgomery had taken Montreal. At Quebec he and Arnold together could muster no more than fifteen hundred men. On the night of De-



MONTGOMERY

cember 31, 1775, they assaulted the town of Quebec; but Montgomery was shot down at the head of his column, and Arnold was badly wounded. In the following spring the invasion of Canada failed completely. General Sullivan, sent by Washington to conduct the retreat, made good his escape from forces much larger than his own; for an English fleet had earlier brought to Quebec 10,000 German and British soldiers.

England's Foreign Soldiers. — When George III resolved to force his American subjects to obey harsh laws, he learned that few Englishmen eared to serve. The difficulty of getting enough English soldiers compelled him to apply to Russia and Holland for them. Both powers refused his request. King George was able, however, to hire from several small German states nearly 30,000 men.¹

British Leave Boston. — When General Washington had organized his volunteer farmers into an army, he began, March 2, 1776, to cannonade Boston. This puzzled General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage in command of the

¹ The best known of these English allies were Hessians, Waldeckers, and Brunswickers. George III was not only king of England but also the elector or ruler of Hanover, then one of the independent states of Germany.

British army. Taking advantage of the noise, the American commander began fortifying Dorchester Heights. When a storm had passed, the British general clearly saw that the new earthworks were altogether too strong to be taken. As



FORTIFYING DORCHESTER HEIGHTS

they commanded both city and camp, nothing remained for him but to remove his troops. On the evening of March 16 the entire British army as well as nearly a thousand Tories sailed away for Halifax.

Thus without the loss of a man General Washington had driven a strong army from Boston, which he entered on March 17. General Howe, in his haste to get away, had left behind two hundred and fifty cannon as well as other materials of war; also twenty-five thousand bushels of wheat. Moreover, Boston was free from alarms, and, as it afterward turned out, nearly all New England remained free from British troops.

PROGRESS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

Parliament Unfriendly. — Early in the year 1775 the Earl of Chatham and Edmund Burke had introduced into Parliament bills that provided for giving up the attempt to tax America, recalling the soldiers, and restoring conditions as they were before the quarrel. But so numerous were the King's friends that both bills were promptly rejected. General Howe and his brother, Admiral Howe, were given power to pardon any rebels who repented; also to give up the scheme of taxation. Their long-continued efforts failed, however, to accomplish anything toward peace.

Expulsion of Royal Governors. — The tyranny of royal governors was an important cause of the Revolution. In the Carolinas, both governors fled from the aroused spirit of the people, while Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, was forced to seek safety on board a British fleet. By his order its guns swept the city of Norfolk for nine hours. During three days the fire continued to burn.

Victories in the Carolinas. — The Tories were both active and numerous in North Carolina. The Whigs (patriots), about as strong, were no less watchful. Many of the Tories were Highland Scots, who thirty years before had fought against the King's family, but now had resolved to fight for it. The patriots, under Colonel Caswell, met and completely defeated the Highlanders and their friends at Moore's Creek, on the 27th of January, 1776, taking about nine hundred prisoners. In May, when Clinton arrived with a British expedition from Boston, there was no one to assist, for the loyalists were crushed and for the time all the fight was taken out of them. His fleet then sailed for Charleston.

The defenses of Charleston, on Sullivan's Island, were garrisoned by six thousand men. On June 28, 1776, the British

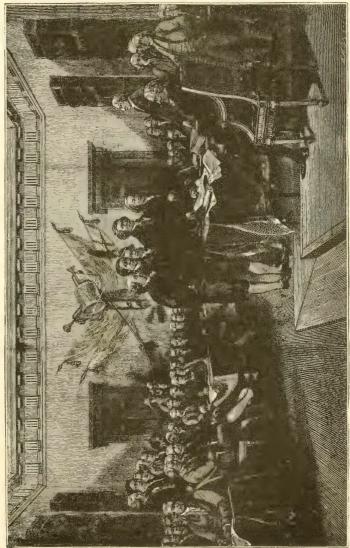
began a bombardment. In building the defenses Colonel Moultrie used sand as well as logs of the soft palmetto wood. On such works the cannonade made little impression. The fire of the fort, on the other hand, was very effective. Indeed, so crippled were several of the hostile vessels that the entire British force became discouraged, and sailed away.

New States. — The British defeats in the Carolinas left those colonies and Georgia free to manage their own affairs. North Carolina was the first colony to declare in favor of independence, in April, 1776. Massachusetts and Rhode Island no longer acknowledged themselves under British rule. Virginia declared for independence in May. On May 15 Congress advised the colonies to form independent governments. Some of them had already done so, and now one by one the others followed. They adopted constitutions and became states.

Early in June, 1776, Congress began to discuss a resolution offered by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, "that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states." Debate was postponed for three weeks, to enable delegates to get instructions from the colonies which had not yet declared for separation from England. Meanwhile a committee was named to prepare a declaration of independence; another to draw up a constitution for the United States, and still another to consider the making of treaties with foreign governments.

Independence Declared. — On June 28 the document prepared by the committee on independence was placed before the delegates. Its author was Thomas Jefferson, one of the delegates from Virginia. John Adams, of Massa-

¹ The members of the committee were Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston. A few slight verbal changes were suggested by Franklin and Adams, and a few slight amendments were made by the Congress; but the Declaration was almost entirely the work of Jefferson.



John Trumbull, Artist.

chusetts, spoke eloquently in favor of its adoption. Richard Henry Lee's resolution was first passed, July 2; and after further discussion, the Declaration of Independence was finally adopted by Congress on the evening of July 4, 1776. The pupil should become thoroughly familiar with this celebrated document, which is as follows:

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, Mberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes: and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. - Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomforcable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

John Hancock.

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island
Step. Hopkins,
William Ellery.

Connecticut
Roger Sherman,
Sam'el Huntington,
Wm. Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

New York
Wm. Floyd,
Phil. Livingston,
Frans. Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

New Jersey
Richd. Stockton,
Jno. Witherspoon,
Fras. Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania
Robt. Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benja. Franklin,
John Morton,
Geo. Clymer,
Jas. Smith,
Geo. Taylor,
James Wilson,
Geo. Ross.

Delaware Cæsar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland
Samuel Chase,
Wm. Paca,
Thos. Stone,

Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia
George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Th Jefferson,
Benja. Harrison,
Thos. Nelson, jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina
Wm. Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

South Carolina
Edward Rutledge,
Thos. Heyward, Junr.,
Thomas Lynch, Junr.,
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia
Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
Geo. Walton.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. - Describe the skirmish at Lexington; also the retreat from Concord. Tell the story of the capture of Ticonderoga. When did the second Continental Congress meet? What did it do? Describe the battle of Bunker Hill. When did Washington take the chief command? Describe the invasion of Canada and the retreat. What foreign soldiers did King George hire? How were the British forced from Boston? Name two friends of America in Parliament. How did Parliament try to end the war?

What became of the royal governors in the Southern Colonies? Describe the battle of Moore's Creek. Describe the attack on Charleston and tell how it was beaten off.

When and how did the colonies become states? Tell what you know about the resolution of Richard Henry Lee. Who was the author of the Declaration of Independence? When was it adopted? If your state was one of the original thirteen, what delegates from it signed the Declaration?

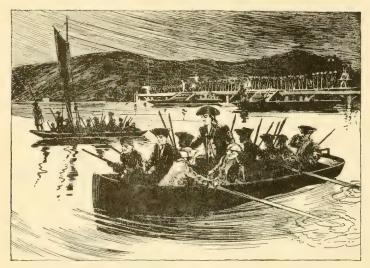
References. — Fiske, The American Revolution, Vol. I; Trevelyan, The American Revolution.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE STATES (1776-1778)

Importance of New York. — The English commander in chief knew the importance of the city of New York, and was carefully planning its capture. From that convenient point he would be in a situation to make war on the Middle States, to threaten New England, and, perhaps, to win the interior. General Washington saw the advantages of the city not less clearly than General Howe and had taken measures for its defense. With a large part of his army he left Boston for New York, arriving there in April, 1776. General Howe came in June, and was presently reënforced by ships and men from England. He was also joined by General Clinton after his vain attempt to take Charleston in South Carolina.

Battle of Long Island. — Late in August, 1776, the western part of Long Island was held by 8000 Americans under General Putnam. Opposed to them were 20,000 British commanded by Howe and Clinton. On August 27 a disastrous battle was fought against this overwhelming force. With a loss of more than a thousand, including two generals, Putnam's regiments were forced back upon the defenses of Brooklyn Heights. Instead of attacking as at Bunker Hill, General Howe prudently began to besiege their position. Washington saw coming disaster, and in order to avert it he collected all the available boats on both sides of the East River; with these, under the management of skillful seamen, he succeeded in taking to Manhattan Island all the supplies and the survivors of General Putnam's army. A friendly rain and fog get much credit for the escape of these troops,



RETREAT FROM LONG ISLAND

but when everything is considered, the retreat from Long Island must be regarded as one of the most brilliant of Washington's exploits.

Loss of the City of New York. — With the enemy's fleet in control of the harbor, it was now impossible further to defend New York. Washington retreated northward. At Harlem Heights and again at White Plains he waited long enough to inflict heavy losses on the attacking British. He then stationed most of his army in a very strong position at North Castle. Howe, who had been pursuing him, suddenly turned back toward New York and stormed Fort Washington, where he took 2700 prisoners.

Retreat Across New Jersey. — Washington crossed with part of his army to New Jersey so as to oppose Howe in whatever direction he might advance. Howe began by taking Fort Lee, with many tents and cannon; General

Greene, who was stationed there, had barely time to escape with his men. The British then advanced toward Philadelphia. Washington instructed General Charles Lee, with 7000 men at North Castle, to join him in New Jersey, but Lee hung back and made excuses for disobeying the order of his superior. Doubtless it was to bring about the defeat of Washington that Lee kept his division out of this campaign. When he could delay no longer, this treacherous officer entered New Jersey, but was captured by some British dragoons. While a prisoner he gave the enemy all the information that was in his power. His troops, however, were added to Washington's forces.

Victory for Washington. — Congress, which still had faith in General Washington, roused itself to action, took measures to aid him, and for a time gave him full power. After hurrying across New Jersey, Washington passed into Pennsylvania, but not without difficulty on account of the masses of floating ice in the Delaware River. As the last boatloads of Americans were crossing the river, Generals Howe and Cornwallis arrived at Trenton. Divisions of their army encamped for the winter in New Jersey at points some distance apart so that they could be better supplied with food and shelter. In this arrangement Washington saw his opportunity. Collecting all available forces he prepared to strike one of these posts a sudden blow. Christmas night, 1776, was the time chosen. The river was safely crossed, in spite of much floating ice. In a blinding snowstorm one part of the army under General Greene and another under Sullivan and Washington made a joint attack upon the Hessians at Trenton. So unexpected was this movement that there was little resistance. One thousand Hessians were forced to lay down their arms. With these prisoners the commander in chief immediately recrossed to Pennsylvannia.

New Difficulties. — Though Washington was eager to make other attacks, he found it no easy matter to keep his soldiers from going home. The terms of enlistment of many would expire on the 1st of January, 1777. So far as the commander in chief could look into the future he saw himself leading a small army. To keep his men he offered a bounty of ten dollars to all who would agree to serve six months longer. He pledged his own fortune and urged Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, to come to his assistance. "Borrow money while it can be done," he wrote to that gentleman, "we are doing it upon our private credit."

The Financier of the Revolution. — Robert Morris was an Englishman by birth, and at the time of Washington's victory was a leading member of Congress. When he was asked for assistance he was paymaster of the forces. Early on New Year's morning he went from house to house among his Philadelphia friends to borrow money from them, and while it was still early in the day was able to send to the gallant army near Trenton the sum of \$50,000. Mr. Morris aided so greatly in providing money throughout the war, that he was called the Financier of the Revolution.

Battle of Princeton. — After a brief rest in Pennsylvania, Washington again crossed to Trenton, to which place Lord Cornwallis hastened with his army. That officer believed he had the Americans shut up between the British lines and the flooded Delaware. By throwing up defenses during the day and leaving his camp fires burning brightly after dark the American commander deceived his enemy, slipped away unnoticed, marched sixteen miles during the night, and on the morning of January 3, 1777, defeated a British force at Princeton. Thence he led his tired troops to the hills around Morristown, New Jersey, where they rested during the remainder of the winter — The British were thus forced to give up most of New Jersey.

STRUGGLE FOR THE HUDSON

British Plans.— The British plans for 1777 centered in an attempt to gain possession of the Hudson River. An army commanded by General Burgoyne was to come from Canada by the Lake Champlain route to take Albany, and was but one of three armies which together were to seize the Hudson and cut off New England from the Middle States. A second force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger, was to go up the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario to the mouth of the Oswego River, and thence by way of the Oswego and Mohawk rivers to Albany. General Clinton was directed to lead from the city of New York a third army, which was to go up the Hudson to meet Burgoyne.

Defeat of St. Leger. — St. Leger's men arrived at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York, and began an attack on the place before assistance could come. Hearing of their presence, General Herkimer with eight hundred men, mostly German farmers from the surrounding country, set out to relieve the garrison. At Oriskany the Indians and British formed an ambush into which the patriots marched. Then followed a bloody hand-to-hand fight in which the musket was often dropped for the more ready hunting knife. The Indians and British could not hold their own against the Americans, and were finally defeated, but the patriots were too few to pursue the enemy.

When General Schuyler (skī'ler), then commanding the Army of the North, heard of the battle of Oriskany, he called for volunteers to go to the relief of Fort Stanwix. Benedict Arnold offered his services and was soon on his march westward with twelve hundred men. On his way he gave out that he was coming with a mighty force and he took care that the tidings reached the ears of the British. The stratagem succeeded and the enemy fled. The defeat of St. Leger was complete.

Burgoyne's Invasion. — When General Burgoyne set out to invade the United States, his mixed force of British, Germans, Canadians, and Indians numbered over 7000. Fort Ticonderoga was easily captured. The retreating Americans were pursued and overtaken at Hubbardton, where they fought a spirited engagement.

General Schuyler placed so many obstacles in the way of his pursuers that there were times when Burgoyne's army moved no more than two or three miles in a day. Schuyler's tactics were seriously troubling the English commander when Congress turned the Army of the North over to General Horatio Gates.¹ Like Charles Lee, General Gates was an Englishman who had taken up the cause of America.

Battle of Bennington. — In great numbers New York and New England farmers were collecting on the flanks of Burgoyne's army. In fact, they soon cut his communications with Canada. At Bennington, in what is now the state of Vermont, the patriots had been collecting horses and supplies. This fact became known to the English general, who sent Colonel Baum with five hundred men to seize the needed stores. This force was met, August 16, 1777, by New Englanders under General John Stark and was badly beaten, as was another under Colonel Breymann.

Burgoyne's Surrender. — Burgoyne moved slowly down the Hudson until September 18, when he learned of the presence of the Americans in force. The next day, some of the British regiments were attacked at Freeman's Farm. This affair, which stopped the southward march of Burgoyne, is sometimes called the battle of Stillwater. By the 7th of October his army showed signs of renewed activity. An attempted attack brought on the second battle of Freeman's Farm, where heavy losses showed severe fighting.

¹ Schuyler, though deprived of command, patriotically offered Gates the benefit of his services, but was treated with discourtesy.

The Americans because of their two successes were daily growing more confident and their numbers had increased to 20,000. Though General Gates was not on the field in either battle, his generals did splendid work. Burgoyne

saw that further fighting was useless, and by an agreement made October 17, 1777, at Saratoga, he surrendered his entire force, nearly 6000 men, with their arms and other public property. This was the decisive contest of the war.

STRUGGLE FOR THE DELAWARE

Howe's Blunder.
— A British force of about 3000, under Clinton, wasto have



BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER

advanced from New York to help Burgoyne. Let us see why it was too late to be of service.

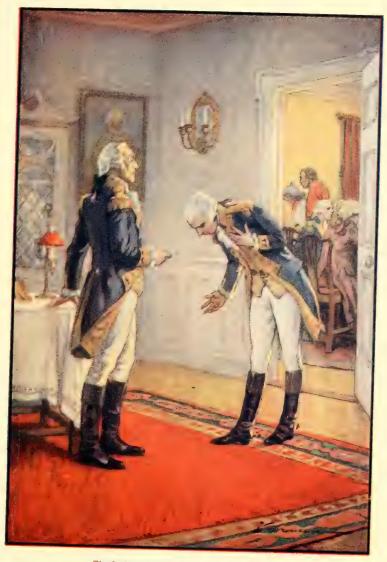
While General Charles Lee was a prisoner he gave General Howe information as to the best way to defeat the Americans. Partly on his advice, Howe determined to take Philadelphia before sending Clinton up the Hudson. But General Washington maneuvered and fought against him so well that he was greatly delayed, and Clinton had to wait for reënforcements from England before starting northward.

Battle of Chad's Ford. — In July, Howe's army embarked, but whither it was going no one knew. Time at last brought tidings of his landing at the head of Chesapeake Bay. Washington's army at once marched southward and on September 11, 1777, faced General Howe's veterans on the Brandywine River at Chad's Ford, Pennsylvania. The British won a victory, resumed their march, and after further delays entered Philadelphia. Among those wounded in the battle on the Brandywine was the Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, who was to render important service to the cause of American independence.

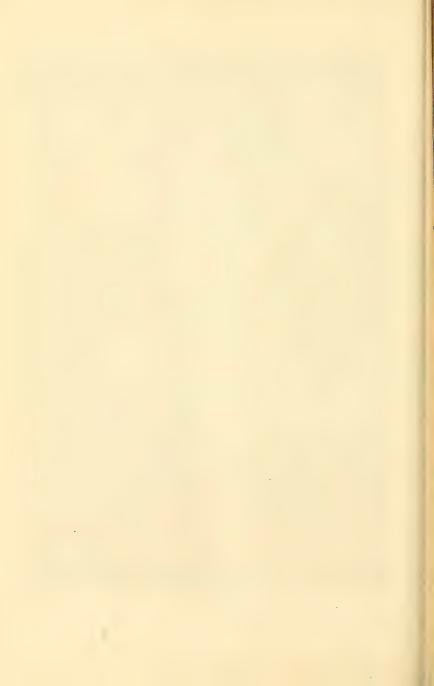
Battle of Germantown. — Washington, anxious to regain control of the Delaware, on the 4th of October made a vigorous attack on the English at Germantown. Owing to a fog and to some misunderstanding of orders he did not gain the expected advantage. He then took his army to Valley Forge, about twenty miles north of Philadelphia, a point easy to defend as well as one suited to protect the military stores at Reading.

At Valley Forge. — The story of Valley Forge is a tale of suffering. This distress was due not so much to American poverty as to the poor organization of that part of the army whose duty it was to provide food and clothing. If there were hardships in camp, yet the winter at Valley Forge was memorable for the improvement in the military qualities of Washington's troops. All winter long Baron Steuben drilled the Continentals until as soldiers they were equal to the best. His system of tactics was published by Congress and adopted in the American army.

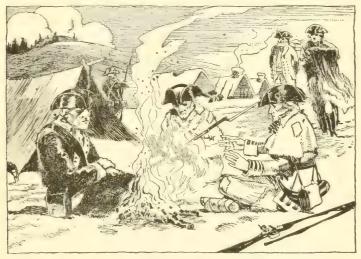
¹ Besides La Fayette there were many other foreign officers who joined the Americans. Kosciuszko, the gallant Pole, rendered good service at Stillwater. Among others may be mentioned Baron Steuben, John de Kalb, and Pulaski, the last named a Polish count. Steuben had learned the military art under Frederick the Great, of Prussia, one of the ablest captains in history.



The first meeting of Washington and Lafayette



Philadelphia Abandoned. — While the Americans continued at Valley Forge, the British had a sort of holiday in Philadelphia. For them the winter of 1777–1778 passed pleasantly. Howe, who returned to Europe, was succeeded in command by Clinton. Under him there was the



VALLEY FORGE

same inactivity until his government ordered him to leave Philadelphia for New York. In June, 1778, his troops began their march across New Jersey. Arnold was sent by Washington to occupy Philadelphia, while he himself led his soldiers in pursuit of the enemy. On June 28 he overtook the British at Monmouth Court House, New Jersey, where he hoped to take advantage of the new spirit of his army and defeat the enemy in the open country. His plan would almost certainly have succeeded, but for the treacherous conduct of General Charles Lee, who had rejoined the army after being exchanged. Lee ordered a

retreat when he was expected to attack. Only the most desperate fighting, under Washington's own orders, restored the battle and gained an advantage. During the night the British stole away, and soon arrived in New York.

Thus, after much fighting, the Americans had control of the Delaware and of the Hudson except at its mouth. In fact, they had possession of all their country, north and south, except the city of New York and vicinity, and the island of Rhode Island.¹

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Why was the battle of Long Island of so great importance? How did the American army escape capture? What was the conduct of General Charles Lee? Tell the story of the capture of the Hessians at Trenton. How did Washington keep his army together? Who was Robert Morris? What battle was fought on January 3, 1777?

What was the British plan for 1777? Describe the defeat of St. Leger; the progress of Burgoyne; the reverse at Bennington. Who superseded Schuyler in command of the American Army of the North? Why did Burgoyne surrender? Describe the battle of Chad's Ford. Who was the Marquis de la Fayette? What battle was fought on October 4, 1777? Where did Washington's army spend the winter of 1777–1778? Give an account of Baron Steuben. What was General Lee's conduct at Monmouth?

References. — Fiske, The American Revolution; Garner, History of the United States; Lodge, Story of the Revolution; Trevelyan, American Revolution.

¹ The British had established a strong garrison at Newport at the end of 1776. In July and August, 1778, an attempt to capture it was made by Americans under General Sullivan and the French under Admiral d'Estaing. But the French fleet was scattered by a terrific tempest, the British sent large reënforcements from New York, and the attempt was given up. French attacks on the British West Indies, however, together with the British campaign in the South, created so great a demand for British troops that in October, 1779, General Clinton withdrew all his forces from Rhode Island.

CHAPTER XV

THE WINNING OF THE WEST

The French Alliance. — During the year 1776 Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane, commissioners from the United States, arrived in Paris to advance the interests of their country. In France they found many private



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN IN PARIS

persons devoted to liberty, but the government would not openly assist America because it was not then prepared for war with England. The surrender of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga made it clear to all Frenchmen that England had become engaged in a difficult war. King Louis XVI no longer hesitated. He recognized the independence of the United States and on February 6, 1778, there was signed in Paris a treaty of alliance and of commerce between the United States and France.¹

Private Assistance. — Meanwhile in France one private subject, and in Spain another, furnished America with supplies that seem to have belonged, at least in part, to their respective governments. These dealings are wrapped in mystery. Blankets, tent cloth, shoes, stockings, and other articles useful to soldiers were sent from Spain in large quantities. Payment was promised in American goods. In vain did the British ministers in both countries protest against the shipment of military supplies.

Spain and Her Colonies.—The friendship of Spain, though in importance not to be compared to that of France, was acceptable to the infant republic. It showed itself in the secret aid mentioned, in the loan of money, and especially in the acts of the Spanish colonists in Louisiana, in the Floridas, and elsewhere.

After 1779, when Spain declared war on England, there was no attempt at concealment. General Galvez, the Spanish commander at New Orleans, allowed provisions, military supplies, and even men to pass up the Mississippi to aid the colonists fighting in western Pennsylvania as well as those engaged in the conquest of the country between Kaskaskia and Detroit. In the South, Galvez waged suc-

¹ It was at this time that Lord North offered to grant nearly everything that the colonists wanted at the beginning of the trouble. The tea tax was repealed, and Parliament promised never to tax the colonies without their consent. But after July 4, 1776, there were many Americans who would be satisfied with nothing less than independence. Commissioners appointed by the British government to effect a reconciliation and persuade the colonies to reënter the British Empire, failed in their mission, and the war went on.

cessful war against the English and by his victories at Natchez, Mobile, and Pensacola assisted Americans in winning and holding the Mississippi Valley.

Other Friends. — Holland, especially its Catholic population, was friendly to the United States. American ships were accustomed to call at the Dutch island of Saint Eustatius in the West Indies for military supplies. This commerce led to a war with England and finally to the punishment of Holland.

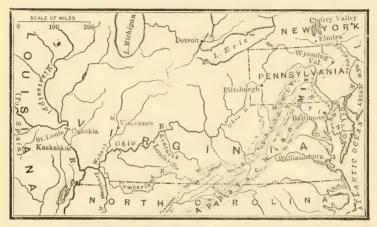
Attitude of the Canadians. — In March, 1776, Congress had sent to Canada, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Chase, as commissioners to influence its people in favor of American interests. Reverend John Carroll, afterward Archbishop of Baltimore, was asked to join them and consented to accompany the envoys. However, in Canada they received little encouragement. because many Americans were offended at England for having, by the Quebec Act, given freedom of worship to Catholics. In other words, Canadians believed that they had less to expect from Americans than from the English.¹

The Illinois Country. — In the French towns in the Illinois country, on the other hand, there were few who were not American in sympathy—After the treaty with France in 1778, the friendship for America grew stronger. This greatly strengthened the arm of Colonel Clark, whose exploits had a decisive influence in the winning of the West.

George Rogers Clark. — In the course of the war Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, gave to Colonel George Rogers Clark the sum of twelve hundred pounds with which he was

¹ Perhaps a majority of Canadians remained loyal to England. Yet James Livingston, afterward advanced to the rank of Colonel, enlisted three hundred men in Canada, and with them served under General Montgomery. Colonel Moses Hazen joined the American army with another Canadian regiment. They were known as Congress' Own and down to the end of the war rendered useful service.

to equip in Kentucky a few companies of soldiers. With difficulty one hundred and fifty men were brought together. In May, 1778, they were at the Falls of Ohio. It was at this place, later called Louisville, that Clark heard of the treaty with France. His purpose was to defend Ken-



THE WESTERN COUNTRY IN THE REVOLUTION

tucky, which had recently been settled by Daniel Boone and others, and to conquer the Illinois country.² At the

¹ Louisville, Kentucky, of which some writers regard Clark as the founder, was named in honor of King Louis XVI of France.

² About this time the Indians attacked other colonies also. On July 4, 1778, Colonel John Butler, from Niagara, led a force of Tories and Indians into the Wyoming Valley, near Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and perpetrated an awful massacre. Leading another band, Butler's son burned the village of Cherry Valley, New York, and murdered its inhabitants. To punish those responsible for these deeds, General Sullivan was sent in the summer of 1779 to the upper Susquehanna Valley. In a pitched battle near Elmira, New York, he defeated a mixed force of Indians and English. Sullivan's army burned forty of the Indian villages and destroyed their crops as well as their fruit trees. This campaign greatly weakened the Iroquois Indians, but did not entirely stop their attacks on the New York frontier.

mouth of the Tennessee River he was joined by a small party of hunters lately arrived from the French settlements. His new friends agreed to lead Clark by a route which they believed would surprise Kaskaskia. Debarking from their boats they traveled fifty miles of tangled forest; then over a waste of prairie. Without being discovered, they at last arrived within three miles of the town, where they waited till dusk.

Capture of Kaskaskia. — Kaskaskia was an old French settlement that had passed to the English at the close of

the French and Indian War; it had a good log fort and a strong garrison. In his advance Clark was exceedingly careful. On the evening of July 4, 1778, his soldiers burst into the fort and secured the streets. The frightened people were next disarmed and the commandant sent a prisoner



CLARK AND FATHER GIBAULT

to Virginia. To complete his work the conqueror needed money and men.

Reverend Pierre Gibault.—In war and in peace the most influential person in Kaskaskia was Father Pierre Gibault (zhē-bo'). When he asked the conquerer whether the Catholic Church could be opened, he received the answer that "an American commander has nothing to do with any church save to defend it from insult, and that by the laws of Virginia his religion had as great privileges as any

other." Thereafter, says Theodore Roosevelt, the priest was "a devoted and effective champion of the American cause."

With a volunteer company of French militia some of Clark's soldiers went up to take possession of Cahokia, sixty miles away, where the population readily took the oath of allegiance to the United States. When the people were told of the occurrence at Kaskaskia and of the treaty of alliance between the United States and France, this was easily accomplished.

Preparing the Way. — Clark's courage, tact, and kindness gained for him many friends among the French. But the most useful was Father Gibault, who, with Dr. Le Font, of the Jesuit seminary, made the journey to Vincennes and won over its population to the support of the United States. By August 1, the priest had returned, bringing to Clark the welcome tidings that all the settlers favored the new Republic and that its flag floated over their fort.

The terms of enlistment of many of Clark's men had already expired, but by promises and presents he managed to persuade about a hundred of them to reënlist. A rumor of his intended departure alarmed the Kaskaskians and they urged him to stay, for otherwise they would be defenseless against the British, whose displeasure they had reason to fear. Taking advantage of this feeling, Clark was able to fill up his companies with recruits, and he spent much time in drilling his men. He had sent Captain Helm to Vincennes and later a few soldiers consisting of loyal Indians, French, and Americans.

British Occupy Vincennes. — The British General Hamilton was amazed at the tidings that Clark had taken Kaskaskia and Cahokia and had sent a garrison to Vincennes. At once he began to stir up the Indians and at Detroit he

¹ Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, II, page 190.

made preparations for the reconquest of the region won by the Americans. By October, 1778, he was ready to move. At Vincennes he captured the garrison, which consisted of one officer and one soldier. With a sense of security Hamilton settled down to enjoy the fruits of victory; he sent war belts to the tribes of the south, and with a reduced garrison dreamed of a mighty expedition in the spring. He did not know his adversary.

A Latin Friend. — Colonel Clark gained another Latin friend, who was destined to act a very important part in the Illinois campaign. François Vigo, an Italian, some say a Sardinian, had arrived in New Orleans as a soldier in a Spanish regiment. After his discharge he engaged in trade with the Indians and in time became rich. Visiting Vincennes he was thrown into prison by Hamilton. After his release he traveled to St. Louis, but was soon back in Kaskaskia, where he arrived in the last days of January, 1779. He told Clark of the feeble defenses and the small garrison at Vincennes; also of the British plans for the spring. What was more important, he advanced to the American commander the money required for a campaign.

The March to Vincennes. — Determined to be beforehand with his adversary, Clark caused to be built and armed the Willing, a gunboat, to command the Wabash. Father Gibault as well as the young ladies were good at recruiting; they persuaded many of the more daring Frenchmen to enlist. Two companies, one commanded by Lieutenant Charleville and one by Captain Richard McCarthy, joined the forces of Clark. At the head of one hundred and seventy men he marched out of Kaskaskia on February 7, 1779. The entire population followed them beyond the village, and at parting Father Gibault invoked God's blessing on them and their enterprise.

Even at the outset there was little food and no tents.

When they crossed a small branch of the Wabash it was a waste of icy waters five miles wide and three feet deep. Before long the party was compelled to leave behind the cannon intended for the siege. They crossed the Wabash to the Vincennes side, the weak being carried in canoes; the strong wading in icy water to the chin. Between the starving band and the town lay the Horseshoe Plains, which had



CLARK'S MARCH TO VINCENNES

become a shallow lake. Nevertheless, they broke the ice at its edges and plunged in. The few strong men waded, while the feeble were saved from drowning by the active canoemen. When about to sink from fatigue, they found themselves in the shelter of a wood, where they dried their dripping garments in the sunshine. There also they made broth from the quarter of a buffalo which they had taken from a party of squaws.

Capture of Vincennes. — Dividing his heroic band, seventy Americans and sixty Frenchmen, Clark besieged the fort. It was not till Virginian backwoodsmen appeared before him that General Hamilton knew of their arrival. Ammunition was freely furnished by the French residents of the town. The energetic siege of a night and a day forced the British commander, February 25, 1779, to surrender. Under an escort conducted by Daniel Boone, Hamilton and twentynine of his men were sent as prisoners of war to Virginia. A party on the way from Detroit was surprised by one of Clark's companies and relieved of Indian goods and supplies to the value of \$50,000, which the American commander divided among his followers.

Importance of Clark's Campaign. — If he had been supported by the government of Virginia or by the government of the United States, Colonel Clark would certainly have captured Detroit. As it was, he saved Kentucky from invasion and protected the region to the southward. In the end his conquest won for his country all the territory between the Ohio and the Great Lakes.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — When did France acknowledge American independence and form an alliance with the United States? What other nations were friendly? What was the attitude of Canada? What was the feeling of the French in Illinois?

Relate the story of Clark's capture of Kaskaskia. Who was Father Gibault? State the service of Vigo. Describe Clark's march to Vincennes and its capture. What was the importance of his campaign?

References. — Fiske, The American Revolution; Roosevelt, The Winning of the West; English, Life of George Rogers Clark; also works mentioned in preceding chapters.

¹ Hamilton, who was an officer of undoubted ability, is often referred to as the *hair-buyer General* because of the belief that he generously rewarded those Indians who returned with the scalps of frontier settlers.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WAR ON THE SEA

The Men of Machias. — Early in June. 1775, there arrived at Machias, in eastern Maine, the Unity and the Polly, two vessels guarded by the Margaretta, a British armed sloop. It was rumored that they came to get lumber needed in building barracks for the royal troops in Boston. Captain Moore, of the Margaretta, was offended by the sight of a liberty pole and threatened that if it were not taken down, he would fire on the place. The people of Machias, however, knew their rights and were prepared to defend them. Their leaders were the six O'Brien brothers and Captain Benjamin Foster. A town meeting resolved that the liberty pole stand and that no timber for the British army should be taken to Boston. Accordingly messengers were sent to other settlements urging the presence in Machias of those willing to join in a dangerous undertaking.

The First Sea Fight. — Early on June 12, 1775, it was decided by the patriots to capture the *Unity* and with her pursue and take the *Margaretta*. Captain Moore warned the patriots to keep off or he would fire. This advice they disregarded. At the first shot one American was killed and another wounded. This was answered by a volley of musketry. Thus began the first naval engagement of the Revolutionary War.

When the vessels came together, the *Unity* was lashed to the *Margaretta*, whose captain continued to throw hand grenades into the midst of the Americans. Led by Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, twenty picked men boarded the sloop, on whose deck a desperate hand-to-hand fight took place. After an hour the *Margaretta* surrendered to the American captain, who with his own hand hauled down the British ensign. In the War for Independence that was the first British naval flag taken by an American.

This was the first American challenge to the mighty naval power of Great Britain. Though popularly un-



CAPTAIN O'BRIEN CAPTURING THE MARGARETTA

known, O'Brien, the Irish Yankee, has a high place on the roll of American naval heroes. That this was no mere village incident is shown by the next step of the victorious commander.

Further Exploits of the O'Briens. — Under O'Brien's direction the *Unity* was refitted and in part equipped with the armament of the *Margaretta*. Her name was changed to

Machias Liberty, and under instructions of a committee of safety, Captain O'Brien sailed in search of two armed British vessels. With the assistance of Captain Foster both were taken. The officers with their prisoners were then sent to Cambridge and they reported to General Washington the importance of the captures they had made. The two captains as well as their brave followers had been thanked by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, while tidings of the brave deed done in Machias Bay aroused unbounded enthusiasm throughout the colonies.

In command of the *Machias Liberty* and another vessel, Captain Jeremiah O'Brien sailed up and down the coast, taking many prizes; but later he was captured by a British fleet. Captain John O'Brien and others then built at Newburyport for the privateer service a vessel named the *Hibernia*. With her he captured the *General Pattison*, which was taking to England a number of British officers. In connection with another American ship the *Hibernia* afterward took a fleet of about sixteen sail, bringing them all safely to port.

Congress Acts. — The brilliant achievements of the Machias men were not made by authority of the government of the United States, but under the approval of a committee of safety and of the government of Massachusetts. In October, 1775, Congress resolved to fit out two armed cruisers. John Barry, a rich Philadelphia shipowner, offered to Congress his vessel and his services. His offer was accepted. Of two vessels afterward provided by Congress, the Lexington (fourteen guns) was placed under the command of Barry, and the Reprisal under Captain Wickes.¹

¹ Captain Barry's deeds are described in the following pages. Captain Lambert Wickes, in the *Reprisal*, sailed twice around Ireland, and took, in company with two other ships, fifteen prizes. But he was lost, with his cruiser, in 1777.

The First Fleet. — The Americans soon felt the lack of battleships. Without a navy they could not prevent England from recruiting and sending supplies to her armies. By the summer of 1776, however, thirty vessels had been obtained. Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, was made commander of the eight that were assembled at Philadelphia.

It was on a vessel of this fleet that Lieutenant John Paul Jones hoisted the first flag that ever floated from an American warship. Hopkins captured the forts on New Providence, Bahama Islands, and carried off a number of cannon and a quantity of powder.¹

Barry's First Victory.—Early in 1776 Captain Barry and his cruiser the *Lexington* left the capes of the Delaware. In a spirited action of an hour, on the 6th of



CAPTAIN JOHN BARRY

April following, he took the *Edward*, an armed tender. With his damaged prize he eluded the British warships in the Delaware and safely arrived in Philadelphia. The *Edward* was the first vessel captured by a commissioned officer of the

¹ On the homeward voyage, begun March 17, 1776, the fleet of Captain Hopkins fell in with the Glasgon, a British man-of-war. Though he was superior in strength, the American commander failed to capture his enemy. This caused some criticism and a year later Hopkins was suspended.

United States. In the *Lexington*, Barry captured several other ships of the enemy; he then returned to Philadelphia, where he superintended the building of warships. His success led to his appointment as commander of the *Effingham*, a frigate whose construction he was directing. While waiting for its completion, in 1777, he performed an extraordinary exploit.

Armed Ships Captured by Rowboats. — Noticing in the Delaware, below Philadelphia, a large schooner flying the British flag and attended by four armed transports loaded with supplies for the enemy, Barry manned four rowboats and silently drifted down stream. At night with muffled oarlocks they passed the guarded river front and at daybreak were alongside the armed schooner. Before the British were aware of the approach of an enemy, Barry, armed with pistol and cutlass, was clambering over the vessel's side, his gallant band behind him. Throwing down their arms, the astonished British fled below, where they were fastened under the hatches.

Those on the transports were ordered by Barry to surrender or be sunk. They had no choice. In sight of a heavily armed British warship he then took his five prizes into Fort Penn, turning the transports over to its commander. Then the hatches were unfastened and the prisoners ordered on deck. Barry and his twenty-seven sailors had captured six officers and one hundred and thirty armed men. Speaking of this exploit the historian Frost says: "For boldness of design and dexterity of execution it was not surpassed during the war." Washington publicly thanked Barry and his men for their extraordinary achievement.

The Alliance. — After the British took Philadelphia they succeeded in destroying the *Effingham*. Barry was next appointed to the command of the *Alliance*, the finest vessel

of the Continental navy. In 1781 this ship fought and defeated in a single engagement the Atalanta and the Trepassy. So severe was the fighting, which lasted from day-break almost till evening, that the three ships were badly damaged and Barry was wounded. Another double victory was gained over the Mars and the Minerva. Besides these four vessels and their officers the Alliance took more than four hundred prisoners. Later she also captured the Alert. On another voyage the Alliance made nine important prizes, sending five home and disposing of four in France.

The Last Battle of the War. — In March, 1783, Barry left Havana in the Alliance with the Duc de Lauzun. Both ships were carrying for the United States government a large amount of gold and silver. They were attacked by the Sybille, followed at short distance by two other English warships. Before their arrival the Sybille had put up a signal of distress. Though a French warship had come up, she took no part in the engagement, but her presence gave confidence to Barry. This was the last fight of the Revolution, for peace was declared April 11, 1783.

John Paul Jones. → Though of great seamanship, enterprise, and gallantry, Captain John Paul Jones was never given command of a first-class warship. But that did not prevent his winning great renown. In the *Ranger* he sailed in 1778 to the Irish Channel. On that cruise he destroyed four vessels, fired the shipping in a British port, and captured a British armed schooner, which he triumphantly took to France. In 1779, with the assistance of the French

¹ In her he took to France, Colonel John Laurens, who was sent as a special commissioner. He it was who borrowed from King Louis XVI the money needed by Washington to pay his troops and to equip them for the final campaign at Yorktown. After the surrender at that place, October 19, 1781, Barry conveyed to France the Marquis de la Fayette. After seeing to the safety of his envoys on such occasions the Captain was free to cruise wherever it seemed best.

government, Jones had manned and fitted out for him the Bonhomme Richard (bo-nom rē-shar'), a vessel inferior both in structure and armament. His officers and crew included Americans, English, Irish, Scots, Swedes, Norwegians, Portuguese, and French. Cruising off the eastern coast of England, he fell in, on the evening of September 23, 1779, with a large fleet of English merchantmen convoyed by the



BONHOMME RICHARD AND THE SERAPIS

Serapis, a vessel much superior to his own, and the Countess of Scarborough, a smaller ship. Besides the Bonhomme Richard the fleet of Jones included the Alliance, commanded by Captain Peter Landais, the Pallas, a French frigate, the Vengeance, and the Cerf.

The action was begun by a broadside from the *Bonhomme Richard*, which was instantly returned.

Jones's ship worked so close to the *Scrapis* that its cannon touched those of the enemy. In a little while both ships were burning briskly in many parts, but the fight went on, the vessels lashed together. When, at 9 o'clock, the *Alliance* came up, Jones believed his victory secure. But to his utter astonishment, Captain Landais fired into the *Bonhomme Richard*, stern, and bow, and broadside, and sent shots below the water line that caused Jones's ship to leak. Three hundred British prisoners, whom Jones had on board, were at this

moment treacherously let loose. It was then that some of his best officers urged him to surrender, but he refused. At half past ten the commander of the *Serapis* struck his colors. Fire and water continued to gain on the victor ship, which sank the next day, after Jones had transferred his men to the captured *Serapis*. This brilliant victory raised the fame of John Paul Jones to the highest pitch.

Privateers.— By the close of 1779 there remained but six of the men-of-war bought by Congress. The others had been taken or sunk by the British. However, the seas swarmed with privateers; that is, with vessels fitted out by American citizens who acted under government licenses known as letters of marque.² They continued to capture many prizes and thus helped to win the war by making British merchants weary of the struggle.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Describe the first sea fight of the Revolutionary War. What other victory followed? What was accomplished by the cruise of Esek Hopkins? Give an account of Captain John Barry; of Captain John Paul Jones.

References. — Rev. Andrew M. Sherman, The O'Briens of Machias; Fiske, The American Revolution; John Henry Sherburne, John Paul Jones; Martin I. J. Griffin, Story of John Barry.

¹ The Countess of Scarborough, after an hour's fight, was taken by Captain Cottineau while Jones was engaged with the Serapis. The conduct of Landais is not to be explained as a mistake made in the darkness, for he was warned by both lights and shouts that he was firing into his countrymen, but he did not stop. Throughout the cruise he was disobedient and pretended to have an independent command. He was jealous of the success of Jones and plainly appears to have attempted his destruction, in one of the most desperate battles in naval history. If Landais had been a patriot, Jones would have won an easy victory and have taken the merchantmen, which, during the long fight, made good their escape.

² A private person making war on the high seas is liable, if captured, to be hanged as a pirate. If commissioned by his government, and he is

taken, he is entitled to be treated as a prisoner of war.



CHAPTER XVII

THE WAR IN THE SOUTH (1778-1781); INDEPENDENCE WON

Hostilities in Georgia. — Having failed in the struggle for the Hudson and Delaware rivers, the British adopted the

new plan of trying to reconquer the Southern Colonies.¹ Late in December, 1778, Savannah was taken and then Prevost, the English governor of Florida, began to overrun all of Georgia. To stop his ravages General Lincoln assembled a little army, a part of which was defeated March 3, 1779, at Briar Creek, a branch of the Savannah. This reverse gave the British control of nearly all the state.



GENERAL WAYNE

Siege of Savannah. — Prevost leisurely strengthened his position at Savannah. General Lincoln, in conjunction with

¹ Meanwhile, in 1779, General Clinton seized and strengthened a fort at Stony Point, on the Hudson. He also sent out from New York several expeditions to lay waste the villages along the coasts of Connecticut and Virginia. To stop such raids, General Washington resolved on a bold stroke, which he entrusted to General Anthony Wayne. Before daylight in the early morning of June 16, 1779, that officer brought through the passes in the Highlands about twelve hundred troops. At the point of the bayonet, Wayne leading his men, Stony Point was stormed and five hundred and forty-three prisoners taken. About the same time Paulus Hook (Jersey City), near the mouth of the Hudson, with its garrison of one hundred and fifty-nine men, was surprised and taken by Colonel Henry Lee ("Light-Horse Harry"). This Colonel Lee was the father of Robert Edward Lee, the famous Confederate general. In both affairs the American losses were very small.

Admiral d'Estaing, of the French navy, resolved to take it by siege. Two weeks later, the season of tempests being at hand, and fearing the loss of the fleet, they determined to take the place by assault. On October 9 the Admiral and the General, each leading a column, attacked at the same time. The charge was desperately made, but the defenders did not flinch. It was on this occasion that Court Casimir Pulaski, the brave Pole, was mortally wounded. The assault ended in disaster. Lincoln then fell back into South Carolina.

Loss of Charleston. — In December, 1779, Campbell arrived from New York with three thousand troops; in



CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, IN 1777

January, 1780, General Clinton brought six thousand. Three thousand more came with Cornwallis in April. In the South this gave the enemy an advantage in numbers.

Against the sound advice of Washington, General Lincoln began to collect supplies and to improve the defenses of Charleston. A siege was begun and to make it more effective a British squadron arrived in the harbor. On May 12, 1780. Lincoln surrendered with 5000 men.

In addition to Georgia, the entire state of South Carolina was now quickly occupied by Clinton's forces. Great numbers of Tories flocked to the British army. For the moment the patriots were stunned, but they were roused to retaliation by the excesses of the enemy.

Defeat at Camden. — In August, 1780, General Gates with a new army of patriots drew near Camden, in South Carolina, a post that had recently been strengthened by Cornwallis. After needless delays and an imprudent night march, battle was begun early in the morning of the 16th. At the first onset the American militia fled. The Maryland and Delaware Continentals fought desperately under De Kalb, who fell pierced by eleven bullets, but they were unable to check the British. Gates fled on his charger to Hillsboro, nearly two hundred miles away. South Carolina seemed hopelessly lost, and it was now certain that Cornwallis would soon invade North Carolina. For the moment his only opposition came from little bands of patriots who waged a guerrilla warfare under such able leaders as Sumter, Williams, and Marion.

Treason of Arnold. — Only a few weeks after the defeat at Camden, came news of another disaster, of a far different kind.

As military commander at Philadelphia, Benedict Arnold so mismanaged financial affairs as to lead to his trial by a court-martial. That body sentenced him to a reprimand, which Washington made very mild. Moreover, to remove all effects of the rebuke and to show his own confidence in the offending officer, Washington appointed him to command the important post of West Point. But all this did not soothe Arnold's troubled spirit. Before long he made an offer to surrender it to the British.

General Clinton's agent in this matter was the accomplished Major André, who in September, 1780, was taken up the Hudson in the *Vulture*. Going ashore near Stony Point, André met Arnold at night and discussed conditions. Morning came before the terms of the surrender had been satis-

¹ General Washington was opposed to giving Gates command of the Southern army, but Congress made the appointment.

factorily arranged. The *Vulture* was fired upon and compelled to drop downstream.

Capture of André. — The new position of the *Vulture* made it necessary for André to return to New York by land. Disguising himself as a traveler, he set out on horseback. With Arnold's pass in his pocket he began his journey with some confidence, but was stopped by three Americans, by whom he was searched. Disregarding Arnold's pass, and



CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ

refusing the offer of André's watch and his money, they refused to let him proceed. Instead they delivered him up at the nearest post. Later he was tried by military court, convicted of being a spy, and sentenced to be hanged.

The officer to whom André was surrendered did not suspect the honor of his superiors. The refore he notified both

Arnold and Washington. As Arnold was the first to learn of André's capture he fled to the river and had himself rowed down to the *Vulture*, which took him to New York. There he received the reward of his treason, namely, \$32,000 in money and a commission in Clinton's army.

Signs of Discontent. — Treason in high places was not the only discouraging sign of the times. Because the troops were not paid there was mutiny among them. There was

so marked a feeling of independence in some states that they refused the requisitions of Congress. As the war was undertaken without revenue, money had to be raised by contributions from the different states. But even when they complied, they generally gave Congress not gold or silver but supplies. "Continental" paper money printed by Congress gradually fell in value till it was worthless. Another resource was to borrow from foreign governments. In 1780 large sums were obtained in Madrid and Paris. When

Robert Morris was put in charge of the Continental finances, early in 1781, the situation was improved.

King's Mountain.—
The people were heartened also by good news from the South. When Cornwallis invaded North Carolina one wing of his army, 1100 strong, under Colonel Ferguson, skirted



CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

the mountains in the western part of the state. This was regarded as a challenge by the dwellers on the Watauga and along the other streams of what we know as East Tennessee. In a strong position on King's Mountain, Ferguson was attacked and surrounded by a picked body of mountaineers, who had chosen Williams as their commander. In the desperate battle that took place, October 7, 1780, both Ferguson and Williams were killed. The American loss was about one hundred, while the British force was annihilated.¹

Nathanael Greene. — The conduct of General Gates at Camden had shown him in his true colors. Of the new

¹ The British loss was 456 killed and 600 captured.

army raised for the South, General Nathanael Greene, of Rhode Island, was made commander. Under him were three very able Virginians, namely, Daniel Morgan, Henry Lee, and William Washington, a distant kinsman of the commander in chief.

The new army under its new leader at once took the offensive. On January 17, 1781, at the Cowpens, Colonel Tarleton, one of the ablest of the British officers, was attacked in the open field by General Morgan, whose force was numerically inferior. Nevertheless, by superior tactics Morgan and Colonel Washington almost destroyed Tarleton's command. The American loss was slight.

After this victory began a game in strategy in which Greene was chased by Cornwallis across North Carolina. The American commander gave battle at Guilford on



LA FAYETTE

March 15, 1781. Here the British were badly cut up, though at night they still held the field; and they presently withdrew into Virginia, leaving Greene free to recover the Carolinas.¹

Cornwallis and La Fayette.—In Virginia, Cornwallis hoped to strike a blow that would make up for the loss of his campaign in North Carolina. While troops from Virginia were assisting the states to the

southward, her own soil had been invaded by Tory forces under the traitor Arnold and by a body of regulars under General Phillips. One of Arnold's exploits was the burning of Richmond, the new capital of Virginia. To defend Virginia, Washington had entrusted a small army to La Fayette,

¹ On April 25, 1781, at Hobkirk's Hill, and on September 8, 1781, at Eutaw Springs, Greene fought well-contested battles and though neither was a victory, yet in each instance he outgenerated the enemy and soon forced the British to retreat. In military ability, Greene is believed by many authorities to rank second to Washington.

who was then only twenty-three years of age. Cornwallis now united his army with the British forces already in Virginia, and planned a campaign to crush La Fayette. "The boy cannot escape me," said he. But La Fayette was equal to the occasion. Greatly outnumbered, he retreated skillfully until he was reënforced; and offered battle only when his position was secure. After a month of useless

marches through a hostile country, Cornwallis returned to the seaboard, closely followed by La Fayette, and in August, 1781, took up a strong position at Yorktown.

Assistance of France. — In July, 1780, Count Rochambeau (ro-shon-bo') arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, with about 5000 French soldiers. They waited there a long time for the arrival of a second expedition, which was held in France by the



COUNT ROCHAMBEAU

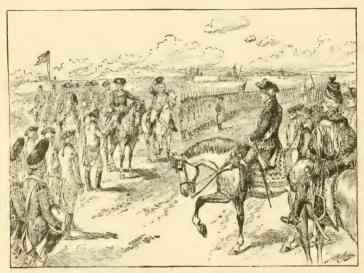
British blockade. With their aid Washington hoped to take New York. But in August he received a message that led him to change his plans. Count de Grasse¹ sent word that he was leaving the West Indies with a large fleet for Chesapeake Bay, and would have to return by the middle of October.

Washington and Rochambeau decided to capture Cornwallis, and by rapid marches reached the head of Chesapeake Bay on September 5. Thence French vessels took them to the neighborhood of Yorktown, where De Grasse had already

¹ On March 22, 1781, Count de Grasse left Brest with several frigates and twenty-six of the best warships affont. Going to the Antilles, he obtained from the governor 3400 troops to reënforce the army of Rochambeau. He likewise borrowed from the Spanish governor of Havana the sum of 1,200,000 francs (about \$240,000), for which he pledged as security his private fortune.

arrived, with Count Saint Simon and an army of 3400. La Fayette's army of about 5000 was thus increased to a force of more than 16,000, all under Washington's command.

Sea Fight at the Capes. — Meanwhile British fleets from the West Indies and from New York were hunting for De Grasse. On September 5 they were descried by the French fleet, which was awaiting their arrival at the Capes at the



SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS

mouth of Chesapeake Bay. In a brief but spirited engagement the British ships were badly damaged, and a few days later withdrew to New York. The victorious fleet, reenforced to thirty-five vessels, blockaded Cornwallis, while Washington besieged him by land.

The Surrender of Cornwallis. — General Clinton, in New York, had been preparing for an attack by Washington, who showed such signs of activity as to deceive the British commander. Therefore he had sent no troops to Corn-

wallis, who was already surrounded when Washington arrived to direct the siege. Against a strong army and a great fleet prolonged resistance was useless, escape impossible. On October 19, 1781, the British general surrendered his army of 8,087 men with all military equipment.¹

Independence Acknowledged. — When the slow sailing vessels of that day carried an account of the disaster to London, Lord North, the prime minister, under the strongest emotion walked up and down his office saying, "It is all over!" Now we know that all was over, but at that time it was feared that more fighting would be necessary. Indeed, King George III was so bitterly opposed to a division of his empire that he favored renewing the war. In time, however, his advisers persuaded him to yield, and on November 30, 1782, there was signed at Paris a preliminary treaty acknowledging the independence of the United States; the final treaty was signed September 3, 1783. On the part of the United States it had been negotiated by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay.

The northern limits of the new republic were almost the same as the present, from the mouth of the St. Croix River to the Lake of the Woods. On the west our country was bounded by the Mississippi River, and on the south by parallel 31° north latitude from the Mississippi to the Apalachicola and thence by the present southern boundary of Georgia to the sea. There were then two Floridas, namely, East Florida and West Florida, which Great Britain ceded to Spain.

¹ Tidings of the great victory of the allied forces were immediately sent to Philadelphia, where Congress was in session. The night watchman on his rounds through the capital shouted, "Past two o'clock and Cornwallis is taken!" As we may imagine, many waited anxiously for daybreak. In the morning the delegates went in solemn procession to a church and gave thanks to God. From Philadelphia the good news was speedily carried by couriers throughout the land.

Danger from the Army. — In the spring of 1782 some officers, disgusted with the helplessness of Congress, were considering a scheme to make Washington king. Again in March, 1783, in the Newburg Addresses, an appeal was made to officers at the headquarters of the commander in chief to use the army in order to overawe Congress, threaten to seize the government, and force the states to furnish the money necessary to pay the soldiers as well as other public creditors. To the would-be kingmakers Washington administered a grave rebuke, while in a patriotic and eloquent address he persuaded the officers at Newburg to reject the scheme for seizing the government.

When the British army sailed away from New York, November 25, 1783, General Washington with a few troops entered the city. In December he went to Annapolis, where Congress was in session. To that body he surrendered his command and then returned to his home at Mount Vernon, on the Potomac.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — When did the British retake Georgia? What did General Wayne do in the North in 1779? Relate the incidents of the siege of Savannah. What reverse overtook General Lincoln? What happened at Camden? Give an account of Benedict Arnold. Give an account of the battle of King's Mountain. Who was Morgan? How did Greene outgeneral Cornwallis? How is he ranked as a soldier? What did Cornwallis next try to do?

Who was Count Rochambeau? Why did Washington decide to attack Cornwallis instead of Clinton? Describe the sea fight at the Capes of the Chesapeake. What did the victorious fleet do then? When, to whom, and where did Cornwallis surrender? When was independence acknowledged (the final treaty)? Bound the United States as described by the treaty.

When did the British finally leave New York?

References. — Fiske, The American Revolution, Vol. II; Fisher, Struggle for American Independence.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CRITICAL ERA

When the British army sailed from New York on the 25th of November, 1783, the troubles of the new nation were by no means at an end. British garrisons still held the frontier posts on the Canadian border. A large debt was due to France, and the revenue of the republic was not enough to pay even the interest. Matters at home looked even more gloomy.

Disputes between States. — New York and New Hampshire had a dispute over the possession of Vermont. The quarrel, an old one, had been laid aside at the outbreak of the war, but after the treaty of peace it began again. The attempt of New York to charge for the use of her ports made the people of Connecticut very indignant. The farmers of New Jersey greatly disliked to pay taxes for the privilege of selling their produce in the city of New York. More grave than the controversies between New York and her neighbors was that between Connecticut and Pennsylvania over the possession of the Wyoming Valley. Hundreds of Connecticut settlers in that region were barbarously treated by Pennsylvanians.

¹ In Rhode Island the over-issue of paper money brought business to a standstill, while in Massachusetts there was general distress because of high taxes, unemployment, and heavy mortgages. In this situation there was a widespread desire to cut down all debts by an issue of paper money, but the legislature declined to try this remedy. Then came an outbreak led by Daniel Shays, a former captain in the Revolutionary army. He and his men tried to prevent sessions of the courts and to seize property. The maurrection was put down by General Lincoln, and the leaders in the movement were pardoned by the governor. By February, 1787, the danger had passed.

From these disputes it is pleasant to turn to the controversy between Maryland and Virginia, which was peaceably settled and which was followed by results of great importance. Early in 1785 commissioners from those states met at Alexandria, Virginia, to set at rest certain questions about navigation and fisheries. Before separating they visited Mount Vernon, where they talked with



MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF WASHINGTON

Washington about the state of the Union. They also agreed to recommend to the legislatures of their states the calling of a convention to meet at Annapolis in 1786.

The Annapolis Convention. — Maryland asked her neighbors, but Virginia invited all the states to take part in the proposed convention. In response to this action there appeared at Annapolis in the fall of 1786 twelve delegates from five states. Because of this incomplete representation nothing was attempted beyond the preparation by

Alexander Hamilton of a forceful appeal to all the states to send delegates to a convention at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Before relating what was done by that body it will be profitable to refer briefly to the Congress and the constitution of the American people.

A Helpless Congress. — Congress was not only unable to pay the officers and soldiers of the army, but was actually too feeble to fulfill the terms of the treaty with Great Britain. State laws had confiscated the property of the Tories and had prevented the payment by Americans of their debts to British merchants. Congress, it is true, had advised the states to repeal such laws, but nothing was done. So harshly were the Tories treated that in the three years following the treaty of peace more than 100,000 of them left the United States. The attitude of the states toward the treaty gave England an excuse for keeping Ogdensburg, Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, and other frontier posts, which she continued to hold for twelve years.

A Defective Constitution. — The constitution, known as Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, contained defects that proved almost fatal to the young republic. In the first place the delegates in Congress voted by states, and some measures could be passed only by the vote of nine states out of the thirteen. Still more important, the laws passed by Congress applied to states as corporations instead of to citizens. It would have been easy for the general government to compel a citizen to obey the laws, but an attempt to force a state to observe a law might have resulted in war. In the second place the general government had no income. The states were regularly asked to contribute to its treasury, and regularly many of them declined. After several attempts it was found impossible to amend the Articles. During the Revolution money had been borrowed from France, Spain, and Holland on the authority of Congress,



but though the states gave the general government the power to borrow, they did not give it any means with which to repay loans. Congress was unable to pay even the interest on the public debt, and it had no control over trade, either foreign or domestic.

State Cessions. — The Articles of Confederation did not go into effect until ratified by all the states, and Maryland refused to approve them until those commonwealths owning western lands agreed to give them to the Union. The states claiming territory to the Mississippi River were Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.¹ The other states, however, claimed that the war was won by the efforts of all and therefore all should have an interest in the western domain. Between 1786 and 1802 the states claiming western lands gave most of them to the Union. When this was promised, in 1781, Maryland approved the Articles.

Movements of the Population. — The long war had interrupted farming, injured manufacturing, and destroyed commerce. Therefore the people were poor, and as western lands were cheap, settlers from the East bought farms beyond the mountains and began their cultivation. New Englanders moved into central New York, settlers from Pennsylvannia and Virginia entered what is now Kentucky, while those from North Carolina poured into the western part of that state, — now Tennessee.

Ordinance of 1787. — In 1787 Congress passed a very important law or ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio.² By its provisions a governor and three judges appointed by Congress were to direct

New York claimed a large area in the Ohio Valley, through treaties with Indians.

² The Northwest Territory, or Old Northwest, comprised the territory now included in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.

affairs until five thousand free white males had settled in the territory. After it had attained to that population, the people could elect a legislature and send a delegate to Congress. An important section in the Ordinance of 1787 forever prohibited slavery in the land northwest of the river Ohio.



The Constitutional Convention. — For the convention which met in Philadelphia in May, 1787 (p. 217), the state legislatures had appointed seventy of their leading citizens. But only fifty-five members attended a part or the whole of the time, and only thirty-nine remained to sign the proposed Constitution, which was completed by September 17, 1787. Rhode Island sent no delegate. Of this convention George Washington, a delegate from Virginia, was chosen president.

Other well-known deputies were Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Wilson, and Charles Pinckney.

The proposed Constitution was sent to Congress, then in session in New York. Notwithstanding the opposition

of some members, it was submitted to the states for their approval or rejection.¹

The Constitution Adopted.—
In several states the Constitution was promptly adopted. In the New York convention the opposition was both able and bitter, but a remarkable address by Alexander Hamilton persuaded a majority to vote for it. In Virginia the enemies of the new plan were not less powerful. The influence of General



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Washington, whose efforts outside the state convention were brilliantly supported within it by James Madison and John Marshall, at last prevailed. In Massachusetts, too, the friends of the Constitution prevailed, though its opponents were numerous. By June, 1788, nine states had adopted the Constitution and made it the law of the land. Other states adopted it later. The North Carolina convention rejected it, and Rhode Island refused even to consider it.

The Constitution. — By a constitution is meant a written document which restrains those who manage the business of government. The Constitution made in Philadelphia keeps

¹ Though there were many opposed to adopting the Constitution, it had powerful and able friends. Washington's great influence supported the new plan of government. In a series of eighty-five essays, printed in the newspapers of the city of New York, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay explained the meaning and answered all the objections to the Constitution. Collectively these letters are called the Federalist.

in check the departments of our general government in Washington. It provides for a national legislature or Congress of two branches, a Senate and a House of Representatives. Its members are elected by the voters of the various states.¹ Congress has the power to raise money by taxation, to borrow money, to coin money, regulate trade among the several states and with foreign nations, to declare war, raise and equip armies, build a navy, etc. The Congress under the Articles of Confederation had but one branch, it could not raise money by taxation, it had nothing to do with the regulation of commerce. It could only raise an army by accepting such quotas of troops as the states furnished.

The Constitution also provides for a national executive or President, elected indirectly by the legal voters for the term of four years, who takes care that the laws are enforced. He is commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and appoints ambassadors and ministers to foreign countries, and judges of United States courts. He also signs the bills passed by Congress. There was no such official provided for by the Articles of Confederation.

The Constitution likewise provides for the establishment of a Supreme Court and certain inferior courts. The judges hold office during good behavior. Some of the quarrels mentioned above would easily have been adjusted if under the Articles there had been a judicial system such as is provided for by the Constitution.

The Constitution provides a method for its own amendment. It can be changed by three fourths of the states. The Articles could not be amended without the consent of every state. It was thus possible for a single state to defeat the most desirable amendment and thus prevent

¹ Representatives are elected for two years and Senators for six Before 1913, Senators were elected by the state legislatures.

progress. Under the Constitution is established what has been called the "American principle" of majority rule.

In brief, the Constitution promotes harmony among the states and provides for the civil liberty and general welfare of the people.

Federalists and Anti-Federalists. — Those who favored the adoption of the Constitution were called Federalists.¹ while those opposed were known as Anti-Federalists. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 there were various groups of statesmen. Some delegates came from small states, while others represented large states; a few were friendly to slavery, though many opposed it; some preferred hard money, others favored soft money.² By adopting a few compromises, however, there was produced among the members something like harmony. But when it came to completing their great work it was plain that there were in the Convention two groups that could never reach an agreement, namely, one which was ready to sign the finished draft of the Constitution and one whose members refused their signatures. One party went home to work for its adoption, the other to labor for its defeat. Even after the adoption of the Constitution, this opposition continued, thus giving rise to the first political parties in our country.

Washington Elected President. — The voters do not directly choose the President, but they select men who do elect him. On the first Wednesday in March, 1789, which fell on the 4th, the new Congress was to hold its first meeting. When, after the delay of a month, the Senators and Representatives assembled, they counted the votes for President, and found that General Washington was elected unani-

¹ Federal is from the Latin foedus, a union or league—Those favoring the Union under the Constitution were therefore called Federalists.

² By hard money is understood metallic money, gold or silver, and by soft money is meant paper notes.

Though paper money is now equal to gold or silver, it was not always so.

mously, and that John Adams was elected Vice President. As some time passed before these men could be notified of



WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION AT NEW YORK

the result, it was not until April 30, 1789, that Washington, standing on the balcony of Federal Hall in the city of New York in the presence of a great crowd, took the oath of office as the first President of the United States.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions.—In foreign affairs what was the situation of the United States in 1783? Describe the troubles at home. To what did the dispute between Maryland and Virginia lead? Describe the Annapolis

convention. What was the state of the Congress? Name some of the defects in the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union. Give one provision of the Ordinance of 1787.

What do you know of the Constitutional Convention? Who was its president? When did the Constitution go into operation? Give a brief outline of that instrument. Who were the Federalists and who were the Anti-Federalists? Who was the first President and who was the first Vice President?

References. — McMaster, History of the People of the United States, Vol. I; Lodge, George Washington; Schouler, A History of the United States, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIX

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

The pupil has read of the exposure and the hardships of the pioneers of the Catholic Church in America. As he knows, the privations of many a priest were ended by martyrdom. But for years after the colonial era had passed the fate of the missionary was not less severe. Oftentimes his coarse food was barely enough to support life. In his journeys he met the members of hostile tribes; in some frail canoe he paddled over inland seas, crossed mighty rivers, and traversed gloomy forests without a guide and generally without a companion. The names of a few of those spiritual heroes the student has learned, but for a full account of Catholic missions and missionaries in our country he must turn to the pages of a history of the Church.

Growth of Toleration. — After the beginning of 1757 Catholic missionaries in Maryland and other English colonies received their spiritual authority from the Bishop of London.¹ The winning of Louisiana and Canada, settled by the French, greatly added to the Catholic population of British America. The Quebec Act (1774) annexed the Illinois country to Canada and in both regions gave the clergy the same rights they had enjoyed under the rule of France. This just law offended the English colonists, who, in matters of religion, were then less tolerant than high officials in England. The help given by Catholic nations,

¹ The number of Catholics in Maryland was estimated by Bishop Challoner at 16,000; those in Pennsylvania at 7000. In the other colonies they were fewer.

however, as well as the patriotic conduct of Catholic citizens during the Revolutionary War, led many Protestant Americans to form a more favorable opinion of their Catholic



RIGHT REV. JOHN CARROLL, ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE

neighbors. Thereafter in our country religious toleration slowly grew.

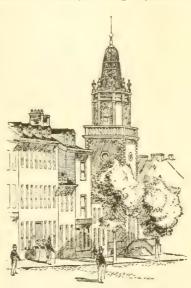
An American Superior. — In 1783, when independence had been acknowledged, the Vicar Apostolic of London declared that he would no longer exercise spiritual authority in the United States. By this decision American priests were cut off from communication with any part of the European church. It was then that delegates of the Maryland and Pennsylvania clergy met at

Whitemarsh, Maryland, and appealed to the Pope for a superior. The Congregation of the Propaganda named the Right Reverend John Carroll, a native of Maryland. On June 6, 1784, he was confirmed Prefect Apostolic by the Holy Father and later given spiritual jurisdiction over the thirteen original states. This was the first step in the organization of the Catholic Church in the United States.

The First Catholic Church in New York. — Much of the money needed by Catholics to build a place of worship in the city of New York¹ was furnished by the Spaniards residing there. On the day of its dedication the minister of Spain entertained at dinner President Washington, the members of his cabinet and of Congress, the governor of the state, and the representatives of many foreign powers.

Such was the beginning of the Catholic Church in Greater New York.

Bishop Carroll. - The growth of our Church in the United States soon made it necessary for Catholics to have a bishop of their own. Of the twentysix priests qualified to vote in such a matter twentyfour named Reverend John Carroll. The bull approving their choice was issued on November 6, 1789. August of the next year, on his arrival in England, whither he had gone for the ceremony, Father Carroll was consecrated bishop.



ST. PETER'S, THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW YORK

One by one the missionaries of colonial days were passing away. This made it necessary to fill their places, and it was believed best that it be done with a native clergy. The plan of Bishop Carroll was aided by the Revolution in France, which drove from that country some priests of the Congregation of St. Sulpice in Paris. In 1791, at his invita-

¹ This was St. Peter's on Barclay Street.

tion, they established in Baltimore a seminary, which ever since has been giving to the United States pious, devoted, and scholarly priests.

Diocese of Baltimore. — Not including New Orleans and the neighboring region, or Detroit and its vicinity, in 1790 the diocese of Baltimore had about thirty-five priests and thirty churches. There were also a number of outside stations attended by the nearest clergymen.

The First Synod. — The first synod in our country was opened November 7, 1791, in Baltimore. Among other things it favored the appointment of a coadjutor to the Bishop. Being of the same opinion, Rome requested Bishop Carroll, with the advice of his older clergymen, to present a name to the Pope. The choice fell upon Reverend Lawrence Graessel, a German, but before enjoying the honor he died of yellow fever. Reverend Leonard Neale, a native of Maryland, was then chosen. His appointment was approved by the Holy See in April, 1795, though the bulls did not reach Baltimore till January, 1801.

During these years Bishop Carroll urged on Catholics the duty of voluntary support of their church, which in colonial times had been provided for by the estates of the Jesuits or by the rich owners of manors.

A Catholic Church in Boston. — In New England the number of Catholics was increasing. Those in Boston built on Franklin Street a church for the erection of which President John Adams and other Protestant gentlemen made generous contributions. Better than any other American except Franklin, Mr. Adams knew the nature and extent of the assistance given by Catholic nations in the work of winning independence. It is not surprising, then, that during a visit to Boston, Bishop Carroll was shown by its leading citizens the greatest civility. It was John Adams, the pupil should remember, who, in the Continental Congress, advised

that Reverend John Carroll be requested to go with the American commissioners to Canada.

While the Bishop was in Boston, it was arranged that missionaries were to be sent to the District of Maine to revive the faith of those Indians who long before had been converted to Christianity by the Jesuits and who had never ceased to be Catholics.

Catholics in the West. — After the Revolutionary War had ended, Catholics, like other citizens, entered Kentucky. In fact, a few had gone thither even before the battle of Lexington. These families built homes on Hardin's Creek, Pottinger's Creek, and at Bardstown. From time to time they were visited by priests. In 1793 the Bishop sent into the new state, Reverend Stephen Badin, a native of France and the first seminarian ordained in the United States. In his work he was afterward joined by other missionaries, among them Reverend Charles Nerincks, a Belgian, who arrived in Kentucky in 1805. The zeal of these priests carried them as far as Vincennes in what is now Indiana.

It was during the missionary work of Fathers Badin and Nerincks that, in 1806, Father Fenwick of the Order of St. Dominic built a church and opened a novitiate in Washington County, Kentucky. Natchez and Vicksburg, Mississippi, were added to the diocese of Baltimore and by an arrangement of Bishop Carroll were attended by neighboring Spanish clergymen.

In the boundless country northwest of the Ohio River there was no resident priest, for the former clergymen had been recalled to Canada by the Bishop of Quebec, and the patriotic Father Gibault, the friend of Colonel Clark, had left the French settlements for the Spanish country beyond the Mississippi. It was at this critical time that the Sulpicians arrived in Baltimore. After 1792 the members of this order worked hard to revive Catholicity in commu-

nities where from the long turmoil of wars ¹ it was about to perish. Among them was Reverend Gabriel Richard, later a delegate in Congress from the Territory of Michigan, and Reverend Benedict Joseph Flaget, destined to become Bishop of Bardstown.

The Church in the South. — In Richmond, Norfolk, and Alexandria, Virginia, there were a few Catholics even in colonial times. They received occasional visits from some zealous priest such as Father Neale, of Georgetown, Maryland. In 1788 Reverend Father Ryan was sent to Charleston, South Carolina, where there were two hundred Catholics. In the sister state of North Carolina members of the old church were even fewer, while in Augusta, Georgia, there was but a mere handful in 1793, for the colonial laws of that province had discouraged Catholics from even attempting settlements.

New Sees. — The number of Catholic clergy and laity greatly increased during the first nineteen years of Bishop Carroll's episcopate. By the purchase of Louisiana (1803) his jurisdiction was extended and the duties of his office increased. These and other causes led to a division of the see of Baltimore.

In April, 1808, bulls dividing the see of Baltimore were signed by Pope Pius VII. This action created the sees of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown. The state of New York and the eastern part of New Jersey made up the diocese of New York; the western part of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware that of Philadelphia, while the New England States were included in the diocese of Boston. The Bardstown diocese comprised the Northwest Territory, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The new sees were suffragans of the metropolitan church of Baltimore, which was left with Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

¹ Wars had filled much of the interval between 1689 and 1781.

To this see was added the administration of the diocese of New Orleans, which included Alabama, the Floridas, the Isle of Orleans, and all the territory purchased from France.

On October 28, 1810, Doctor Egan was consecrated Bishop of Philadelphia; Doctor Cheverus, Bishop of Boston on November 1; and Doctor Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown on



CATHEDRAL AT BALTIMORE, CORNER STONE LAID BY ARCHBISHOP CARROLL, 1806

the 4th of November. Before going forth to take charge of their different sees the new bishops with Archbishop Carroll considered the state of the church. There were then seventy priests and eighty churches, while the number of Catholics was estimated at 70,000.

During the summer of 1815 Archbishop Carroll's health began to decline and on the 3rd of December he died. He

had been a patriotic citizen, a devoted priest, and a wise bishop.

Washington's Letter.—In response to the congratulations of leading American Catholics on his election to the Presidency, Washington wrote, in December, 1789:

"Gentlemen,

"While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called by a unanimous vote to the first station in my country, I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general government, you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony to the increase of the public prosperity enhances the pleasure, which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

"I feel, that my conduct in the war and in peace has met with more general approbation, than could reasonably have been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance, in a great degree, resulting from the able support and extraordinary candor of my fellow citizens of all denominations.

"The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of divine Providence, the protection of a good government, the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety, can hardly fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

"As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those, who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume, that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part, which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance, which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed.

"I thank you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be,

it shall be my constant endeavor to justify the favorable sentiments you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity." ¹

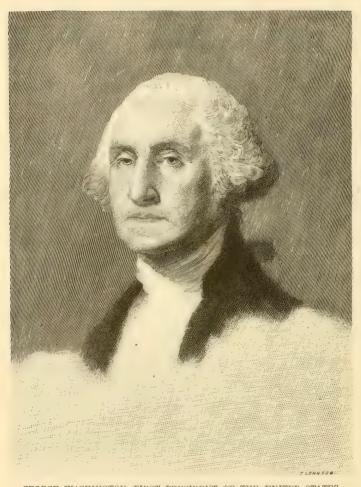
By the descendants of Washington's countrymen the memory of French assistance is kept green. In the Great War of the twentieth century the soldiers of the two great republics were again companions in arms. American affection for France is not soon to fade. But of the patriotic part taken by American Catholics there is but an imperfect record and for it there is in the popular mind but little gratitude. President Washington appears to have confidently believed that the conduct of his countrymen would be influenced by a sense of justice equal to his own.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Under what bishop were the Catholic priests in the English colonies placed in 1757? Why and when was the first American superior named? Give an account of the first American bishop. Describe the beginning of the church in New York; Boston; Kentucky; the South. How large was the diocese of Baltimore in 1790? What new sees were created in 1808? How did Washington show his appreciation of Catholics?

References. — O'Gorman, History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States; Shea, Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll.

¹ The Writings of Washington, XII, 177-179. Edition of Jared Sparks.



GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE NATIONAL PERIOD

CHAPTER XX

GOVERNMENT BY THE FEDERALISTS

The People and Their Industries. — When Washington was inaugurated, April 30, 1789, he became President of a nation of fewer than 4,000,000 inhabitants.¹ In the last decade of the eighteenth century a majority of the American people were farmers. In the South there were many large plantations cultivated chiefly by negro slaves, of whom there were in the entire country about 700,000. Negroes were never numerous in the North, but in 1789, except in Massachusetts, there were slaves in all the states.

In New England besides the farming class there were merchants, shipbuilders, and fishermen. In certain seaports whaling was important.

Agriculture was the principal occupation in Pennsylvania, but the fur trade and shipbuilding were also important. The industries of New York were nearly the same as those of Pennsylvania, though, owing to the British occupation of the frontier posts, its fur trade had greatly suffered. Some iron was manufactured in New Jersey, while its farm and dairy produce was becoming important.

Both Maryland and Virginia raised large quantities of tobacco; also wheat and other grain. The pine forests of North Carolina produced tar, pitch, turpentine, and lumber. There, as in the states to the north, tobacco was a valuable crop. In South Carolina the Revolutionary War had inter-

¹ According to the census of 1790, the first taken, there were 3,929,000 people in the United States.

rupted the cultivation of indigo; the plant had also been attacked by an insect. These accidents put an end to that industry. Many planters raised considerable rice. In all the commonwealths manufactures were mostly domestic, that is, each family made many things that it needed. Those articles which American skill could not furnish were imported.

City Life. — Since colonial times dwelling houses had shown but slight improvement in appearance or in comfort. The better sort were built of brick and for the most part their furniture, china, and silver were imported from England. In towns and cities the narrow streets of that day had no sewers, no pavements, no sidewalks, no lights, no water pipes. The lack of a good supply of water and the use of that drawn from shallow wells, no less than the general ignorance of sanitary arrangements, will serve to explain the prevalence year after year of dangerous diseases.

Every city man was compelled to serve in his turn on the night watch, and, when an emergency required it, to assist as a fireman. For fighting fires he kept near his front door a certain number of leather buckets. When the alarm was sounded by market bell or by courthouse bell, he hurried with his buckets to the burning building, where he took his place in a line passing full buckets from the nearest pump or well to the engine, or stood in another line which passed the empty buckets back to be refilled.

Rural Life. — At the beginning of the national period, however, far more people lived in the country than in cities, for the great majority of Americans were farmers. Except those owning fine estates many of the farmers lived in small houses which often had no room but one on the ground floor, with a loft or garret above it. The more favored dwelt in large and handsome houses built of wood, which was then excellent in quality and of great variety. The

architecture of these, of which a few specimens still stand, show that Americans of that era lacked wealth rather than taste. Visits and churchgoing made up the most important events in the social life of country people.

Shops.—In an age in which few persons could read, places of business in England were known by such signs as the Bunch of Grapes, the Red Lion, the Boar's Head. In colonial days the American store, similarly named, was often the front room of a small house, in the rear of which

lived the family of the tradesman. Much trade was carried on by travel-

ing peddlers.

Organizing the Government. — The Constitution had provided for the machinery of government, but it was necessary for some one to set it in motion. This duty, Washington performed with rare skill.¹

Of the executive department of the federal government, Washington was the head. But as he could not person-



THOMAS JEFFERSON

ally attend to all its duties, it was necessary to select capable men to assist him. The first official appointed was Thomas Jefferson, who was made Secretary of State His duty was to manage the foreign affairs of the country. The second appointment was that of Alexander Hamilton, who was made Secretary of the Treasury. Besides the ordinary business of handling the government money, he had to recommend to Congress a plan for the payment of the public debt and to suggest the best means of securing an income

¹ President Washington paid much attention to matters of ceremony. He fixed certain hours for talking with officials, and certain days for receiving the people. Though he did not escape criticism, the taste, the kindness, and the good breeding of the first President enabled him to set a high standard to guide those who followed him in office.

with which to pay the expenses of the government. General Henry Knox was appointed Secretary of War. To give legal advice to the President and to other officers of the government, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, was appointed Attorney-General. Collectively these four officials came to be known as the President's Cabinet. Other members of the Cabinet were added later; by the year 1913 there were ten in all.

The Tariff. — When Washington became President, the Treasury had no money and the nation no credit. Within three days after its meeting ¹ Congress began to prepare a tariff bill. This measure, which was soon passed, not only placed a tax upon goods imported into the United States but, to a slight extent, protected the American manufacturer and artisan against foreign competition.

Funding the Debt. — If the United States was to have any standing in the outside world, it was necessary that provision be made for paying the debt of \$11,500,000 due abroad. If the government was to enjoy the confidence of citizens at home, arrangements must be made for discharging the debt of \$40,500,000 that was due to Americans. As to the urgent need of providing for the payment of the foreign debt there was little difference of opinion. But many members of Congress were opposed to paying in full the domestic debt. On Hamilton's advice, however, both debts were "funded" by issuing new bonds for them.

Assumption. — Another part of Hamilton's funding system would have the new government assume the war debts of the states. These amounted to about \$22,000,000. But as several states had paid their debts during the Revolution, they were greatly opposed to assisting other states to meet their obligations. This measure, therefore, at first failed

¹ The House of Representatives elected as its first Speaker, Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, a noted German-American clergyman and statesman.

to pass Congress. But Hamilton asked Jefferson to exert his influence in favor of the bill, and the Virginia statesman consented to make the attempt. Thereupon the measure was reconsidered and passed. In return for this service Hamilton and his friends favored the removal of the capital to the banks of the Potomac. Accordingly the seat of government after remaining at Philadelphia for ten years, was removed to Washington, D. C. in the year 1800.

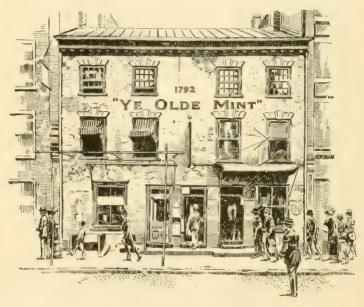
Effect of Hamilton's Measures. — The tariff, the funding system, and the assumption of the war debts of the states by the new government, restored confidence. By these measures Hamilton won over to the support of Washington's administration nearly all the men of wealth in America. Of Hamilton's measures it may truthfully be said that out of disorder and debt and bankruptcy they brought confidence and prosperity. At a later time Daniel Webster impressively declared that Hamilton touched the "corpse of public credit and it sprang upon its feet."

The Whisky Insurrection. — The government was not only under the necessity of meeting its present expenses, but was compelled to pay interest upon the debt of \$74,000,000 mentioned above. This condition led Hamilton to look around for new sources of income. A part of his revenue system was the laying of an excise or duty on distilled spirits. In 1791, accordingly, Congress imposed a heavy tax on whisky, but there was opposition in North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and the western counties of Pennsylvania, whence in 1794 the officials of the United States were driven away by angry farmers.¹

Into that troubled region, where there were thousands of

¹ In that section the principal crop was grain, which could not profitably be sent over the mountains, because the only conveyance was by pack horse. But when the grain had been turned into whisky, six times as much could be taken to market. Being generally consumed, whisky served as both drink and money.

stills, President Washington sent 15,000 militia from Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania. This show of force immediately restored order. The settlement of this outbreak gave an early proof of the power of the new government and of its purpose to enforce the law. Though the leaders of the insurrection were tried and convicted of treason, they were pardoned by the President.



FIRST MINT IN PHILADELPHIA, 1792

The Bank.—Still another of Hamilton's financial measures was his plan of a National Bank. This was a private corporation of which the United States held one fifth of the stock and over which it could exercise a certain supervision. The Bank could establish branches and issue banknotes to be used as money. In the House of Repre-

sentatives all Southern members, except three, voted against it, while all Northern members, except three, voted in its favor. On the question of the Bank, therefore, the North and South took opposite sides. The Bank, however, was established in 1791, and, during the next year, a United States mint for coining money.

Constitutional Amendments. — Many of those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution did so because it contained no statement of the rights of the people. To remove this objection the first Congress submitted to the states twelve amendments, of which ten were duly adopted

in the course of two years. These are known as the Bill of Rights. Among other things Congress was prohibited from interfering with freedom of religion, freedom of speech and of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to petition for a redress of grievances.

New States. — North Carolina and Rhode Island finally adopted the Constitution, the



THE FIRST FLAG

former in 1789 and the latter in 1790. In 1791 Vermont was admitted into the Union as the fourteenth state and during the following year (1792) Kentucky also was admitted.¹

¹ The flag originally adopted by the Continental Congress in 1777 had thirteen stars and thirteen stripes. After the admission of Vermont and Kentucky the number both of stars and of stripes was changed to fifteen. No further change was made for many years, and in the War of 1812 our armies fought under the flag of fifteen stars and fifteen stripes, though the number of states was then eighteen. In 1818, however, after the admission of several more new states, the number of stripes was restored to thirteen, and since then the number of stars has been the same as the number of states.

Indian Troubles. — After the Revolution great numbers of settlers began to build homes along the Ohio and in the valleys of some of its branches. The coming of white men, by destroying the game and the fur-bearing animals, made it harder for the Indians to get a living. They occasionally killed settlers, and in 1790 swept off an entire village near Marietta, Ohio.

After two small armies had failed to quiet the Indians, the President ordered into Ohio a third army commanded by General Anthony Wayne. After two years of preparation that officer met the Indians in battle on the Maumee in August, 1794, and completely broke their power.

Second Administration. — Meanwhile, in 1792, Washington and Adams were elected a second time. Their second term (1793–1797) was marked by trouble with France, with Great Britain, and with Spain.

Neutrality. — On July 14, 1789, there began the great Revolution in France. During much of the time till 1815 there was strife in Europe. In the progress of the conflict France looked to the United States for assistance, but in a proclamation of neutrality, which Washington issued in 1793, he warned Americans not to assist by hostile acts any of the warring nations. He was at once accused by the followers of Jefferson of ingratitude toward France; for, they asked, had not that country assisted in winning American independence? In other words, France had shown herself a friend, while England, the followers of Jefferson declared, had tried to enslave Americans. Moreover, to France they were

¹ In Washington's view it would have been the duty of the United States under the treaty of alliance to assist France if she had been attacked, but the fact was that she had herself declared war. It was foreseen that if Americans assisted France in that conflict, they would be parties to every later war in which she desired to engage. Washington believed that it was wiser for Americans not to meddle in European affairs. His Proclamation of Neutrality was the first step in the foreign volicy of the United States.

bound by treaties, while with England they had none. Confidence in the support of the Jeffersonians led Genêt (zheh-nā'), minister from France, to appeal to the people against their President. But in this he was disappointed, for when Washington asked France to recall her envoy, he was supported by nearly all citizens of the United States.

Seizure of American Ships. — In the war with France, Great Britain soon gained complete control of the seas. When French vessels had been driven from the ocean, France opened to neutral nations the trade of her West India colonies. Accordingly Americans at once began to ship to the islands cargoes of lumber, fish, flour, and other merchandise. But England did not admit that any neutral country could have in time of war a trade which she did not possess in time of peace. Under that principle she seized American vessels.

President Washington learned that even with the best intentions it is not always possible to avoid disputes with foreign governments; in fact, that it is only a strong nation that is able to enjoy the benefits of neutrality. Great Britain saw no merit in his purpose to side with neither power. Nevertheless, Washington decided to send Chief Justice Jay to England to make a treaty of commerce and friendship.

Jay's Treaty.— When Jay arrived in England, he was treated in the most friendly manner. But he was not long in learning that notwithstanding his courteous reception, British statesmen had no intention of being generous toward America. Jay made the best treaty that he could, but it did not satisfy himself, his friends, nor, of course, those opposed to the policy of the President. Among other matters it provided for the delivery of the frontier posts named on page 217 and it insured peace. The surrender of those places pleased the people of the West, while the hope of

peace was agreeable to the merchants. Though these objects were desirable, the arrangements were generally denounced; Hamilton was stoned, while addressing a mob, and Jay was burned in effigy. It is certain that Washington was not fully satisfied with the success of his envoy, but he made up his mind to sign the treaty, believing that it was all that could then be obtained. After displays of passion such as have seldom been seen in this country, the treaty was ratified by the Senate in 1795.

Treaty with Spain. — Before the close of the French and Indian War, Spain had received from France the island of Orleans on the east of the Mississippi and on the west all the region as far as the Rocky Mountains. As Spain possessed the land on both banks of the lower Mississippi, she controlled its navigation. It therefore became necessary for the United States to enter into an agreement with her. By a treaty made in October, 1795, she consented to give to Americans a place of deposit at New Orleans, where they could sell their produce without payment of duty. This agreement, however, she afterward declined fully to carry out, thereby giving the United States a ground for war.

The Farewell Address. — Washington, who had been grossly misrepresented and who for years had been savagely assailed in the newspapers, declined to stand a third time as a candidate for the presidency. Generally his example has been followed by his successors. Indeed, the American people do not look with favor upon a third term for the President.

In September, 1796, Washington announced in a Philadelphia newspaper his purpose to retire to private life. For more than twenty-one years, in war and in peace, he had been the leader of the American people. In resolving no longer to hold office he solemnly warned his countrymen against the danger of permanent alliances with foreign nations and against sectional jealousies at home.

Election of John Adams. — With Washington withdrawn from public affairs his political friends, the Federalists, agreed to elect John Adams to the presidency. The Republicans, formerly Anti-Federalists, looked to Jefferson as

their leader. The parties were not well organized, and the election of 1796 resulted in making Adams President and Jefferson Vice President.¹

X, Y, Z Affair. — France had declined to receive as minister Charles C. Pinckney, who had been sent over by President Washington. In a message to Congress, President Adams resented the insult. In an endeavor to preserve the peace he sent to Paris a commission consisting of Charles C. Pinckney,



JOHN ADAMS

John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry. When the American commissioners arrived in France, they found that country governed by a Directory made up of five members, The Directory declined to receive our representatives and instead sent agents to talk with them. These agents made it plain that a treaty would be entered into with the United States, provided that each member of the Directory should receive a gift of \$50,000, that President Adams should apologize for his criticism of their government, and that America should loan France a large sum of money. Weary of waiting, the commissioners finally lost patience and

When, after election, the ballots were counted, it was found that Adams had received 71 electoral votes, but that Thomas Pinckney, who was also a Federalist, received only 59 votes; whereas Jefferson, of the opposite party, received 68. Under the law of that time the candidate receiving the highest vote became President, the second on the list Vice President.

declared that the United States would not buy a treaty. General Pinckney is said to have remarked that his government had "millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." In sending to Congress an account of the affair the agents of the Directory were referred to as X, Y, and Z.¹ Hence



STATUE OF COMMODORE BARRY, WASHING-TON, D. C., ERECTED IN 1913

this effort to maintain peace with France is always referred to as the X, Y, Z Mission.

Americans Aroused.

— The report of the commissioners aroused the greatest indignation. For the moment the admirers of France were silenced. Congress at once began to prepare for war. An army was raised and Washington was appointed to the chief command, with Hamilton next in rank. A navy department was created and ships were brought together.

Citizens offered their services to the President and without pay worked upon the coast defenses. It was in that stirring era that Joseph Hopkinson, of Philadelphia, wrote the national song *Hail*, *Columbia!*

Naval War with France. — One of the fleets fitted out was put under the command of Commodore John Barry. During a cruise in West Indian waters it captured a number

¹ The name of Mr. X was Hottinguer, Y was Bellamy, and Z was Hautevai.

of vessels. Another squadron under Captain Truxtun took sixty French privateers. The Constellation, the Enterprise, and the Boston made many captures. Brief as was this war the American navy took eighty-four armed French vessels. When the people of France had learned of the conduct of the Directory, they were astonished and indignant. About that time Napoleon Bonaparte became the real ruler of that nation and, in 1800, made a treaty with the United States.

The Alien and Sedition Acts. — The reckless abuse of the President and his administration by the followers of Jefferson proved too much for the patience of the Federalists. They therefore secured the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws, which are important not only because they aroused the most bitter opposition at the time of their passage, but also because they had great influence upon the later history of the United States.

The Alien Acts provided: (1) that foreigners or aliens could not become citizens of the United States until they had resided fourteen years in this country; (2) that during the next two years the President could, without trial, send out of the United States any alien whom he believed to be dangerous to the peace of the nation; (3) that in time of war an alien enemy could be expelled from the country.

The enactment of severe laws against foreigners was one thing, but it was a very different matter to deprive American citizens of rights which they had long enjoyed. This is precisely what was done by the Sedition Act. It provided for the punishment, by fine and even imprisonment, of any person who opposed the execution of a law of the United States, or who spoke or wrote maliciously against the government.

¹ Under the old law a foreigner could obtain his naturalization certificate after completing a residence of five years. That is the law at the present time.

By virtue of the Alien Act the President did not expel any foreigner from the country, but citizens who wrote seditious articles in newspapers were both fined and imprisoned.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. — Among other things, the first amendment of the Constitution provides that Congress shall pass no law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." Yet, in violation of the spirit of that prohibition, Congress had passed and the President had signed an act taking from the people the right freely to express their opinions concerning legislation.

In 1798 the Kentucky legislature as well as that of Virginia passed resolutions declaring those acts of Congress unconstitutional and therefore "utterly void and of no force." Copies of the resolutions were then sent to each of the other states, but they were not approved. Whereupon, in 1799, Kentucky declared that when a state believed an act of Congress unconstitutional, it might nullify such a law.

Defeat of the Federalists. — The passing of the Alien and Sedition Acts was not the only blunder of the Federalist party. Its leaders had begun to quarrel among themselves; they had shown a lack of confidence in the people, and the cost of the war with France had increased taxation. When the future seemed filled with doubt, there was made an attempt to persuade General Washington to reënter public life, but that great soldier and statesman declined to appear as a candidate for the presidency. On December 14, 1799, he died at his Mount Vernon home in Virginia.

In this state of affairs the Federalists were forced to turn to John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney. The Republicans, who had promised a reduction of taxes, and professed perfect confidence in the public, nominated Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. As each of the Republican candidates received seventy-three votes, it was necessary for the House

of Representatives to choose between them.¹ After some delay that body elected Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia (1801). Aaron Burr, of New York, became Vice President.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What was the population of this country when Washington became President? Where were negroes to be found? What were the chief occupations in New England? What in the Middle States? Describe the pursuits of Southern people. What is said of city life at the end of the eighteenth century?

Tell what you know of the organization of the new government. What is the Cabinet? Give an account of the revenue measures recommended by Secretary Hamilton. How do you account for the location of the capital on the Potomac? Tell the story of the Whisky Insurrection. What new states entered the Union? Who imposed peace on the Indians of Ohio?

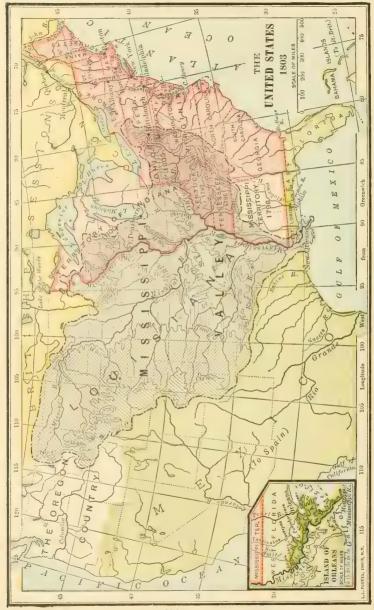
How many terms did Washington serve? In the war between England and France what position did Washington decide to take? Justify it. Discuss Jay's Treaty.

Why did Washington decline a third term? Who succeeded him in the presidency? Tell the story of the X, Y, Z Mission to France. What caused the naval war with France?

What were the Alien and Sedition Laws? What called forth the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions? Did the other states approve them? Explain the defeat of the Federalists. When did Washington die? Who was chosen President by the House of Representatives in 1801?

References. — McMaster, History of the People of the United States, Vol. I; Lodge, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton (American Statesmen); Morse, Thomas Jefferson, (American Statesmen); Henry Adams, A History of the United States, Vol. I.

¹ To prevent such a contest in the future the Twelfth Amendment was made a part of the Constitution in 1804. Among other changes this required each presidential elector to vote for President and Vice President on separate ballots. Before this, the electors voted for two candidates without naming them for either office; the one receiving the highest number of votes was declared President, provided the number was a majority (more than half) of all the electors.



CHAPTER XXI

GOVERNMENT BY THE REPUBLICANS UNDER JEFFERSON AND MADISON (1801-1817)

Jefferson and the Civil Service. — On March 4, 1801, Thomas Jefferson, perhaps the greatest of American political thinkers, took the oath of office as President. The government having been for twelve years in Federalist hands, Jefferson on taking up his duties found in office but few members of his own party. Therefore, he deemed it necessary to make a number of changes. According to some authorities the removals numbered one hundred twenty.

The Louisiana Purchase. — The movement of population into the country beyond the Alleghenies (p. 219) was steadily building up new communities. The settlers took up the fertile lands along the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and other rivers. Their barns were soon filled with farm produce, but Spain owned New Orleans, the only port of deposit near the mouth of the Mississippi where they could transfer it to sea-going vessels and send it to market. Disputes with Spanish officers brought forcibly to the mind of President Jefferson the idea of purchasing New Orleans. But in 1801 Spain gave it, with all of Louisiana, back to France. At that time Napoleon, the ruler of France, was planning to build up a great French colony in the Mississippi Valley. Congress had placed at the disposal of the President a large sum for the purchase of New Orleans. When Livingston, our minister to France, was engaged on

[!] Other writers estimate the number of removals under Jefferson at thirty-nine. The larger number, one hundred twenty, was less than a third of the appointive offices then in existence.

this negotiation, Napoleon surprised him by offering to sell the whole of the Louisiana territory extending from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. Monroe had been sent over to assist Livingston, and jointly they made a



SIGNING THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE TREATY

treaty agreeing to pay \$15,000,000 for the entire tract. This purchase more than doubled the area of the United States. In spite of Federalist opposition, the Senate ratified the treaty, and Congress appropriated the necessary money.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition.— When, in 1803, the United States had acquired the region between the Mississippi

and the Rocky Mountains, President Jefferson sent out an expedition to explore it. The party was in charge of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark.

Leaving St. Louis in 1804, they went up the Missouri to its source; then found the valley of the Columbia, which they explored to the Pacific.² After spending the winter

¹ Out of the purchase have since been formed the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, the two Dakotas, and the greater part of Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

² In 1792, long before the arrival of Lewis and Clark in the Oregon country, Captain Robert Gray, in his ship *Columbia*, had discovered its great river and given it the name of his vessel. It is clear that the title conferred by his discovery was strengthened by that derived from exploration. Later the United States acquired other titles to that region.

of 1805 6 near the coast, in the spring they set out on their return, and arrived at St. Louis in the autumn.

Jefferson's Policy. As Jefferson was strongly opposed to ceremony, he declined at the opening of the sessions of Congress to appear before the members and deliver the usual address. Instead he sent a written message. Though in 1802 the United States Military Academy was founded at West Point, New York, on the Hudson River, the army was reduced. There was likewise an economy in the management of the navy. In fact, the expense of government was lessened generally, and certain taxes were removed. Jefferson's policy, which was to reduce expense, made it possible to save millions of dollars and to apply them to the payment of the public debt. In a word, he kept his promise to economize and made his first administration one of the most peaceful and prosperous that this nation has known.

Growth of the Republic, 1790–1805. — The fifteen years after Washington's inauguration witnessed many changes. The population had grown by 1800 to more than 5,000,000. Of these nearly 400,000 dwelt in the Western states and territories. Tennessee was admitted as a state in 1796, Ohio in 1803.

Industrial Progress. — Between 1790 and 1800 Samuel Slater, an Englishman, settled in the United States and built the first American mill for the working of cotton yarn. In the same decade Eli Terry commenced as a business the manufacture of clocks, but by far the most important improvement of that era was the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 by Eli Whitney. Formerly it had been found difficult to separate the seed from the fiber of the cotton, but after a short trial of the new machine it was seen that great quantities could easily be prepared for spinning. This discovery led to a more extensive cultivation of the

plant, created a great demand for negro labor, and thus contributed to establish in the United States the institution of slavery, which the founders of our Republic had expected quietly to disappear.

Social and Legislative Reforms. — The states had modified their old constitutions or adopted new ones; one by one they were abolishing the property qualifications required of voters, as well as the religious tests applied to both officeholders and voters. The cruel punishments formerly inflicted upon offenders were no longer approved by society, and were abolished by some of the states.

Jefferson Reëlected. — In a season of peace and prosperity Jefferson's term of office drew to a close. The Federalists, not yet without hope, named Charles C. Pinckney for President. Jefferson, the Republican candidate, was reëlected by a large majority.

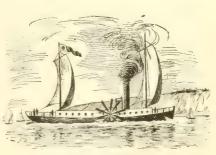
The Burr-Hamilton Duel. — Another Republican was elected to succeed Burr as Vice President. Burr was out of favor with Jefferson's friends. Moreover, a few months before the election, he fought a duel with Hamilton, and was now a fugitive from justice. After resigning from Washington's Cabinet, Alexander Hamilton had gone to his home in the city of New York, where he settled down to the practice of law. However, he did not become indifferent to public affairs. In the contest between Jefferson and Burr in 1801, it was generally believed that the influence of Hamilton decided the presidency in favor of Jefferson. Thereafter the President's admirers regarded Vice President Burr as a sort of political outcast. His New York friends, however, nominated him for governor and they tried to win the Federalists to his support, but such an arrangement was prevented by Hamilton. When Burr was 'defeated, he challenged Hamilton to a duel and killed him. This unfortunate meeting occurred in July, 1804, at Weehawken, New Jersey. It did much to turn public opinion against the custom of duelling.

Burr's Project. - Seeing no future career in the East, Burr resolved to make one in the West. Fearing arrest for the death of Hamilton, he went at once to Philadelphia, where he applied to the British minister for assistance in bringing about a separation of the western part of the United States from that which lies between the Atlantic and the Alleghenies. To promote his plan he brought together twenty-six men, whom he kept on an island in the Ohio River. This force, well drilled, drifted down the Ohio in boats and entered the Mississippi, but by orders of the President the party was stopped at Memphis, Tennessee. Burr was afterward arrested and brought to Richmond. Virginia, for trial. There he was charged with setting on foot a military expedition against the dominions of the king of Spain, which was a high misdemeanor, and with levying war against the United States, which was treason. Before

Chief Justice Marshall he was acquitted in 1807 on the indictment for treason, while the trial for high misdemeanor, which took place in Ohio, came to nothing.

Fulton's Steamboat.

— The first steamboats were made by



THE CLERMONT

Fitch on the Delaware River and by Rumsey on the Potomac, but they were not successful. In 1807 Robert Fulton, of Pennsylvania, launched the *Clermont*, a steamboat which began to make regular trips between the city of New York and Albany. Its greater success was due not

only to its better mechanical construction but also to the fact that the population of the United States had nearly doubled, and that the wealth of the nation had greatly increased in the two decades since Fitch and Rumsey had made their experiments with steamboats. Within a few years steamboats, carrying settlers with their household goods and their farming implements, were to be seen on all the large rivers of the West.

STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCIAL INDEPENDENCE

War with Tripoli. — Though Jefferson had announced a policy of peace, and firmly believed in it, he was unable to apply his principles to foreign relations, because the rulers of other countries were less interested than he in the welfare of mankind.

At several points on the northern coast of Africa settlements had been made by Mohammedan pirates. In time they grew to be states, but that fact did not cause them to lose their original character. It had long been their practice to capture European ships and sell the crews into slavery. To avoid this danger many of the European governments paid them an annual tribute. Being without a navy, the United States, in 1795, made a treaty with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, promising a large yearly tribute in spars, canvas, lumber, and other stores. In 1800, when President Adams sent the yearly tribute, the ruler of Tripoli demanded more and on meeting with a refusal declared war. The war lasted until 1805, when Commodore Rodgers with the guns of his warships forced Tripoli to agree to terms of peace.

The War in Europe. — Even before the United States had come to an understanding with Tripoli war had broken out (1803) between Great Britain and France. In that struggle of the giants Jefferson very much desired to remain

neutral. He saw that in neutrality lay the best chance of our country for growth in wealth and population. But this policy awoke no answering sympathy in Europe. If the United States would not be their ally, said the British cabinet, in effect, she must submit to be plundered by British fleets. Napoleon took a similar view. If America was to be plundered, France must get a share of the spoils.

Napoleon's Decrees and the British Orders in Council. — After victories over Prussia, Napoleon, by a decree (1806), closed the ports of Hamburg and Bremen, hoping thus to cut off England's trade with the German people. If he could not defeat his enemy on sea, he believed that he could cripple her industries. In May, 1806, England answered with an order in council, which blockaded the coast of Europe from Brest to the mouth of the Elbe. In November, Napoleon declared the British Isles in a state of blockade and prohibited British trade with any country under the control of France. A year later, in November, 1807, Great Britain issued another order in council requiring her naval officers to seize any vessel bound for a closed port in Europe, unless it had first touched at a British port, paid duty, and purchased a license to trade. After defeating the Austrians and entering Milan, Napoleon, in December, 1807, issued still another decree directing the seizure of any ship that had called at a British port and taken out such a license.

The Leopard and the Chesapeake. — From what has been said it is clear that the British closed to American commerce one half the world, the French the other half. Many vessels of American citizens were taken on the high seas or in European ports. Even trade between ports in the United States could not be carried on with safety. British impudence reached its height in June, 1807, when the Leopard fired a broadside into the unprepared Chesapeake,

killing and wounding several seamen and compelling the American warship to surrender. After a search for deserters the English commander carried off four men, of whom three were native-born citizens of the United States. The fourth, a former British sailor, was hanged at Halifax. For a moment the spirit of '76 was stirred to life; a vessel was ordered to England to demand atonement, and Congress was called in special session.

The Long Embargo. — When Congress met, the President sent in a message recommending an embargo, which was soon established (1807). It prohibited vessels from leaving our ports. In Jefferson's view such a measure would save American ships and seamen, and would deprive both France and England of American supplies; but he overlooked the fact that it would also put an end to American foreign commerce. Being injurious, the law was evaded. Upon this there was passed a Force Act (1809) giving the President the right to use the army and navy to compel obedience. So indignant was the protest of New England, which was deeply interested in commerce, that in 1809 Congress repealed the laws and for them substituted a non-intercourse act.

Retirement of Jefferson. — During his second term, which expired March 4, 1809, Jefferson had fallen on troublous times, and for such an era he was but a poor captain. In the autumn of 1808 his friend James Madison was elected to succeed him, and four years later was reëlected.

The Non-Intercourse Act. — Learning nothing from the experience of Jefferson, President Madison believed that a policy of embargo and non-importation would in time bring both Great Britain and France to reason. The Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 prohibited trade with both those nations, but allowed it with countries not under British or French control. If either would repeal its orders or de-

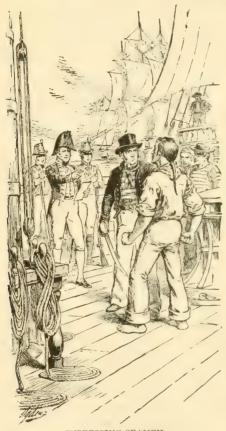
crees, the President would make known the fact and renew commerce with that country.¹

The President and the Little Belt. — When the frigate President and the British sloop of war Little Belt had an encounter near Sandy Hook, just outside New York harbor, the prospect of peace was again clouded. While neither side admitted having fired the first shot, it is quite certain that after the disgraceful surrender of the Chesapeake, American officers welcomed an opportunity to wipe out the memory of that event. In the fight that followed the American loss was one man, while that of the Little Belt was thirty.

War Declared against England. — In a message to Congress the President mentioned the offenses of both England and France, and later, in his letters, stated that the danger of a conflict was as great with one power as with the other. Let us see, then, why he finally recommended a declaration of war against England. By that time the men who had been prominent in the Revolution had nearly all ceased to assist in shaping the policy of the government. The leaders of the new generation were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, who was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John C. Calhoun (kal-hoon') of South Carolina. These and others were lashing the House into fury against England. There was, indeed, a wide difference between

¹ Erskine, the British minister at Washington, desired to establish more friendly relations between England and the United States. He made an agreement for repealing the orders in council, and many American ships left port. King George III did not approve the act of his minister, but our vessels were permitted to complete their voyages without being molested. This failure of Great Britain to support her minister forced Madison once more to suspend trade with Great Britain. Meanwhile, Napoleon pretended to suspend his decrees, but in May, 1810, he ordered the seizure of all American vessels in ports under French control. This caused a loss estimated at \$40,000,000. After a demand for compensation, which was refused, Madison meekly submitted to the outrage.

the offenders, for the British had impressed thousands of seamen from American ships. In response to the Presi-



IMPRESSING SEAMEN

dent's recommendation, Congress declared war against England ¹ on June 18, 1812.

Causes of the War. - In his proclamation the President stated as the reasons for the war: (1) the impressment of American sailors, (2) the sending of ships to cruise off American ports and the search of American vessels, (3) interfering with trade by the orders in council, (4) urging Indians to make war on the settlers in the West.2

¹ The Constitution gives Congress the authority to declare war. The President can only recommend it. The pro-French party was in power in 1812.

² That the British had been stirring up the Indians was generally believed, but this charge, unlike the rest, was without foundation. The twin brothers, Tecumseh and the Prophet, able Indian leaders like King Philip and Pontiac, attempted to unite all the Indians from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico in a war for the purpose of driving white men from the

State of the Nation.—When war was declared the treasury was empty, while the measures of Congress had almost destroyed commerce. In 1811 the United States Bank had been refused a new charter. Therefore the government began the war with no suitable agency for regulating its finances. Both the army and the navy were small. It was in such circumstances that Congress declared war on the "Mistress of the Seas," as England was proudly called. As might have been expected, there followed for the United States eighteen months of disaster.

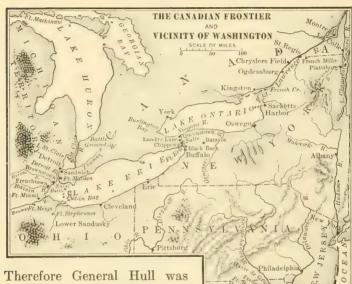
On the Canadian Frontier. — According to the plans formed at Washington, the war was to be won by the conquest of Canada. For this purpose three armies were assembled along the Canadian frontier. One under General Hull was to cross at Detroit and move eastward; a second, commanded by General Van Rensselaer, was expected to cross the Niagara River, assist the forces of Hull in the capture of York (Toronto), and march to Montreal. General Dearborn with the third army was to enter Canada from northeastern New York and proceed to Montreal. After the joint forces had taken Montreal and Quebec, it was believed that Canada must fall. But the plan completely failed.

Hull was not only driven from Canada but pursued to Detroit, where he surrendered to General Brock. Van Rensselaer did not succeed in making any permanent conquest in Canada, though on October 13, 1812, about 1500 of his men crossed the Niagara and by assault carried Queenstown Heights. When reënforcements arrived for the British, the Americans were soon overcome and the

Mississippi Valley. The activity of the Prophet in 1914 so alarmed General William Henry Harrison that he raised a force, marched upon the Indians, and defeated them at the battle of Tippecanoe in Indiana.

survivors made prisoners of war. Dearborn did not even cross the boundary line.

As the surrender of Detroit had aroused much indignation, the public demanded that somebody be punished.



Therefore General Hull was tried for neglect of duty, was convicted and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the President. The failure of Hull led to the raising of a new army, which was placed

under William Henry Harrison. In attempting to make a midwinter march through Ohio for the recovery of Detroit the advance guard of this army was attacked, January 22, 1813, at Frenchtown on the Raisin River, where the Indians massacred their prisoners. The British and their allies then attacked Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson, but were driven off. These events stopped the advance of General Harrison.

Battle of Lake Erie. — The British hurriedly built a fleet in order to control Lake Erie.¹ At the same time Oliver Hazard Perry, a young American naval officer, was doing his best to build another. In the neighboring forests his men felled the timber, which was speedily turned into



PERRY IN THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

Perry borrowed some cannon from General Harrison, mounted them on his decks, and waited for a friendly breeze. Just before the British fleet arrived, September 10, 1813, a light wind wafted Perry's new ships out of the harbor. With his flagship, the *Lawrence*, Perry attacked the largest two of the enemy's vessels and fought them until most of his guns were dismounted and only eight of his men were left. Then entering a boat, he was rowed to the *Niagara*. In

And

¹ On Lake Ontario the Americans under Commodore Chauncey had gained control. In May, 1813, his fleet took across to Canada a force of 2500 men, who captured York (Toronto) and burned the public buildings. The British remembered this incident.

the midst of the British fire he had carried a blue pennon inscribed with the dying command of Captain Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship." In a splendid charge the Niagara, which had thus far escaped serious injury, soon broke the British battle line and with the assistance of her sister ships captured the whole British fleet. Perry's dispatch to General Harrison was brief but telling: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two Brigs, one Schooner, & one Sloop."

Battle of the Thames. — Commodore Perry was able not only to send back the borrowed guns to General Harrison but to turn the tide of war in the West. His victorious fleet transported Harrison's army across Lake Erie. This made it necessary for the British to abandon Detroit without delay. On the Thames River they were overtaken and defeated (October 5). Tecumseh was killed. The victories of Perry and Harrison won back all that had been lost by Hull's surrender of Detroit.

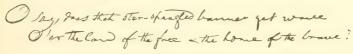
Fighting along the Niagara. During the summer of 1814 the Americans under capable commanders, Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott, invaded Canada along the line of the Niagara River. It was in this campaign that bloody battles were fought at Chippewa (July 5) and Lundy's Lane (July 25). Though the Americans fought with the utmost bravery and won both battles, they were finally driven out of Canada.

Capture of Washington. — Up to midsummer of 1814 British fleets rode triumphant from the shores of Long Island to the mouth of the Mississippi. Part of the Chesapeake coast was actually for a time conquered territory. The people were terrorized and their government was

¹ The gallant Captain Lawrence of the *Chesapeake* was killed off Boston during an action with the *Shannon*. Perry's flagship was named in honor of the brave commander of the *Chesapeake*.

unable to protect them. In August, 1814, occurred the most disgraceful events of the war, namely, the defeat of the American militia at Bladensburg, Maryland, and the capture of Washington by a handful of British troops.

The Attack on Baltimore. — After a quiet occupation of Washington, during which some public buildings were burned, the British sailed for Baltimore, where they were defeated in a battle at North Point and where their fleet made a vain attack on Fort McHenry. President Madison had sent Francis Scott Key to the British fleet to request the release of some civilians who were detained. Mr. Key was taken by the fleet into Baltimore harbor, and kept on board till the next morning, so that he watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry from an English ship.



PART OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER IN KEY'S WRITING

It was then and there that he composed *The Star Spangled Banner*.²

The Battle of Lake Champlain. — Notwithstanding the victories of Commodore Perry and General Harrison and the British reverses at Baltimore, the British would still have gained possession of much American territory if it had not been for the defeat of their land and naval forces at Plattsburg, New York.

The American fleet on Lake Champlain, under Captain

¹ The British said this was in retaliation for the burning of York (note, page 263). Among the buildings injured in Washington were the Capitol, the Executive Mansion (White House), and the Treasury.

² Key's song was at once set to music and the same night enthusiastically sung at a theater in Baltimore. After their defeat, the British sailed away to Jamaica.

Thomas Macdonough,¹ was skillfully placed in Plattsburg harbor. At daybreak on September 11, 1814, the British Captain Downie sailed toward Plattsburg, expecting to drive the American ships from their position and with his superior force destroy them on the open lake. Coöperating with his fine fleet was a powerful army of 11,000 to 14,000 men, commanded by General Sir George Prevost. This army's feeble attack on Plattsburg was repulsed by General



CAPTAIN THOMAS MACDONOUGH

Alexander Macomb with a body of militia. Disappointed at the failure of the army to capture the town and drive Macdonough's fleet from the harbor, Downie bravely made the attempt with his squadron.

The American commander, however, had provided for nearly every possible happening, and was eager to take part in the battle. Like a common sailor he worked a favorite gun. For a few minutes he was struck senseless by a falling spar. He had scarcely risen to his feet, when he was knocked across the

deck by the head of one of his captains which was struck off by a cannon ball. Early in the fight the British commander was killed. The sails of the Saratoga, Macdonough's flagship, were cut to rags, the masts looked like bundles of matches. His superior seamanship enabled him to slacken and then to silence the enemy's fire. In two hours the most dangerous of the British vessels struck her colors. Within half an hour more the other

¹ By his father the name was spelled McDonough and by his grandfather, who had come to Delaware from the county Kildare, Ireland, it was spelled MacDonough.

vessels were disabled. About two hundred Americans had been killed and wounded; the losses of the British were at least three hundred. The swords tendered by the captured British officers were immediately returned by Macdonough, who assured them that they had earned the right to wear them.

Ex-President Roosevelt, in his Naval War of 1812, says: "Sir George Prevost and his army at once fled in great haste and confusion back to Canada, leaving our northern frontier clear for the remainder of the war; while the victory had a great effect on the negotiations for peace."



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE VICTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION

Sea Fights. — With their unnumbered ships British officers laughed at the small navy of the United States, whose fifteen vessels were ridiculed as "fir-built things with a bit of striped bunting at their mastheads." Before the war was over, these vessels inflicted upon the British navy a series of defeats such as it had never before known. American victories began early and continued even after the end of the war. One of the most famous of these sea fights was that won in August, 1812, by the frigate Constitution, still popularly called "Old Ironsides," over the

¹ Read Old Ironsides, a fine lyric, by Oliver Wendell Holmes.

British frigate Guerrière (gār-yair'), which was too badly crippled to be brought to port.¹

Peace. — During the War of 1812 England was engaged by the activities of Napoleon and therefore sent to America but a small part of her army and navy.² Russia seems to have made it plain to her British ally that more progress could be made against Napoleon if England would make peace with the United States, and she offered to act as mediator, but this offer, accepted by the United States, was declined by Great Britain. Instead England offered to treat directly with America. To meet British representatives at Ghent, in Belgium, the President sent five eminent Americans. On December 24, 1814, they agreed on terms of peace, but in the treaty nothing was said about the causes of the war.

¹ On a moonlight night in a tempestuous sea the Wasp so disabled the British sloop Frolic that when the latter was boarded the victorious Americans found only the man at the wheel and three wounded officers. In turn the little Wasp was pursued and captured by the British frigate Poictiers The Macedonian was brought in triumph to Newport, Rhode Island, by the frigate United States. The Java was rendered useless by the fire of the Constitution. In 1813 the list of victories grew. The Hornet disabled the British sloop Peacock, which sank after her surrender. In a well-contested fight between the Enterprise and the British brig Boxer, off Portland, Maine, both commanders were killed, and, wrapped in their respective flags, were buried in that city in the same cemetery. One of the defeats of that era was that of the unfortunate Chesapeake, which while being refitted in Boston was invited out of the harbor by the British frigate Shannon. In the circumstances Captain Lawrence should have declined the challenge. In the fight he was mortally wounded, and, while being carried below, he cried: "Don't give up the ship; keep her guns going; fight her till she sinks;" but the British finally won the victory. The Argus, while capturing merchant vessels, was destroyed by the British brig Pelican. After a successful cruise along both coasts of South America the Essex, commanded by Captain Porter, was captured in March, 1814, by the Cherub and the Phoebe, two British frigates. The President, commanded by Commodore Decatur, was captured in January, 1815, by a British squadron of four vessels. In February, 1815, the Constitution, Captain Charles Stewart, when near Madeira, captured both the Cyane and the Levant.

² There were more than 70,000 British soldiers at Waterloo; but fewer

than 15,000 at Plattsburg or at New Orleans.

Results of the War. — The war convinced other nations that America had become a great sea power; it produced at home a strong national feeling, and put an end to the old dependence upon Europe. Tidings of the treaty of peace reached New York on February 11, 1815, but before that news had come two events of importance had taken place, namely, a meeting of certain delegates at Hartford, Connecticut, and a great defeat of the British at New Orleans.

The Hartford Convention. — The long embargo and the non-intercourse acts had greatly injured New England, which was the commercial section of the nation. In that part of the Union the Federalists were still influential and their power was often used to embarrass the national government. Delegates from the New England States met during December, 1814, in secret session at Hartford. This assembly has always been thought disloyal. It proposed certain amendments of the Constitution, and recommended state armies to defend New England, such forces to be supported by the general government. If Congress did not agree to this program, another convention was to be called in June, 1815. But before the commissioners reached Washington to present the plan of the convention they heard of the treaty signed at Ghent, and immediately made their way home amid the jeers of the nation.

The Battle of New Orleans. — About the time, December, 1814, that the Federalists met in convention at Hartford, a powerful British force, estimated at from 10,000 to 12,000 veterans, landed in southeastern Louisiana and advanced toward New Orleans, which was defended by General Jackson with an army about half as large. On January 8, 1815, the British General, Pakenham, assaulted the American defenses, but Jackson's backwoodsmen were expert marksmen and his artillery was skillfully handled. In less than half an hour the British fled from the terrible

artillery and rifle fire, leaving behind them more than 2000 in killed, wounded, and captured. Among the slain was General Pakenham himself. The American loss was six killed and seven wounded.

If there had been an Atlantic cable in those days, this bloody battle would never have occurred, for the treaty of Ghent had been concluded fifteen days before.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Why did Jefferson make removals from office? Describe the manner of acquiring the Louisiana territory. Who explored it? What other things were done in Jefferson's first term? Under what circumstances was Hamilton killed? Name some of the important inventions between 1790 and 1810. What men built steamboats before the time of Fulton?

Describe Burr's project. How was Tripoli brought to terms? What European powers were at war in the beginning of the nineteenth century? How did each treat the United States? What were the decrees of Napoleon and the orders in council? Describe the affair of the Leopard and the Chesapeake. What was the embargo? Why was war declared against England rather than France? Enumerate the causes of the War of 1812. What President followed Jefferson? Explain the failure of the American plan of campaign. What was the result of the battle of Lake Erie? Tell the story of the capture of Washington; also of the attack on Baltimore. Describe the battle of Lake Champlain and state its importance. How did Captain Lawrence meet his death? What is said of the Hartford convention? Give an account of Jackson's victory at New Orleans.

References. — Morse, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams (American Statesmen); Roosevelt, Naval War of 1812; Gay, James Madison (American Statesmen); Henry Adams, A History of the United States; McMaster, History of the People of the United States, Vol. II.

CHAPTER XXII

GROWTH OF THE WEST; ERA OF GOOD FEELING

Government Land Policy. — The first public land owned by the United States was obtained by cessions from certain states (p. 219), including much of the land between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River. Later acquisitions included also most of the land west of the Mississippi. At first Congress sold the public land only in large tracts and to the highest bidder. Under that system nobody except the rich could buy directly from the government. But Congress soon came to take a very different view. Accordingly, under a law passed in 1800, it was made easier to secure a share of the public land. For \$2 an acre one could purchase a half section, namely 320 acres. This \$640 could be paid in four yearly instalments. In 1820 Congress reduced the price of land to \$1.25 per acre and made it possible for a person to buy 80 acres. Under a law so liberal even the poorest citizen could own a farm. These wise laws had much to do with the growth and prosperity of our country.

Routes to the Northwest. — Settlers going from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh followed the military road built during the French and Indian War. Over this route vast quantities of merchandise were carried every year, and also many emigrants. In about twenty days travelers arrived in Pittsburgh. Then, if going farther, they put their goods on a flatboat and drifted down the Ohio to the points at which they expected to settle. From Baltimore the route led to Cumberland; thence over the mountains to Pittsburgh or to Wheeling. Emigrants from states south of

Maryland made the westward journey through Cumberland Gap along Boone's Wilderness Road. Sometimes the Kanawha route to the Ohio was chosen. New Englanders made their way up the Mohawk Valley to central New York. From there they could pass along the Genesee



OVER THE MOUNTAINS TO PITTSBURGH

turnpike to Lake Erie. But not all emigrants from the Eastern States went into the Northwest Territory. Many of the pioneers cleared forests, built mills, and began towns in western New York.

Westward Movement of Population. — The cheap lands and, after 1800, the dullness in trade which became marked after 1815, drove thousands of people into the West. All the highways leading thither were crowded with emigrants. Some took their possessions in rude wagons built by themselves, while others used wheelbarrows or handcarts. Because of this movement of population the West advanced rapidly in importance, while many parts of the East remained at a standstill.

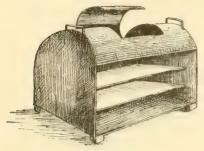
The Log Cabin. — When the newcomer arrived in the West, he claimed a piece of land and at once began to clear

a part of it. Until he could build something better he might put up a small shed roofed with saplings and bark, and walled on three sides, the fourth being open to the weather. Near the open side he would build his fire. As soon as practicable he began work upon a log cabin. Logs of the proper size were notched near the ends and put into place for the four walls. If he had neighbors, they all came to assist at what they called the "raising," and they generally finished his cabin in the course of a single day. Spaces were left for a door and for small windows. Clay and moss were packed between the logs to keep out both wind and rain. There was a large fireplace in every log cabin. Like the rest of the house the chimney was built of logs plastered inside with clay, but at the bottom it was lined with stones. Oiled or greased paper was used instead of window glass. The rude door, swinging on wooden hinges, was fastened inside by a wooden bolt or latch, which could be raised from the outside by a leather string passed through a hole in the door. When the latchstring was out, any one could enter; therefore in such a position it came to be regarded as a sign of hospitality.

Life of the Pioneer. — Many interesting tales have been told of the trials of the pioneer. If the settler took up a forested tract, he had to begin at once to cut down the underbrush and as soon as possible to kill the large trees by girdling. When the trees had been felled, the neighbors helped him to roll the trunks to piles for burning. From the ashes thus obtained he made potash, for which it was not difficult to find a market.

On his stump-covered clearing, the pioneer began to break up the ground, and, in season, to plant corn, wheat, and vegetables. After he had husked and shelled his corn, if he did not take it on horseback to a distant mill, he pounded it by hand in a wooden mortar with a wooden pestle. The baking, though sometimes attended to in an outside oven, was often done in a Dutch oven on the hearth. Cooking stoves were not used.

Deerskins in the early days and in later times homemade



DUTCH OVEN

linen, jeans, woolens, and linseys were the chief materials for clothing. It was long before store goods came in.

Political Importance of the West. — Thus far we have heard much of the Eastern States (New England), of the Middle States, and of

the South. Hereafter we shall hear something of the West. A result of the great movements of population just mentioned was that the western territories were filling up, and, as separate states, were being admitted into the Union. Thus in the short space of five years the following states were added: Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Missouri (1821). Louisiana had already been admitted (1812).

The Second United States Bank. — We have already seen that in 1811, when the United States Bank applied for a new charter, it was refused. During the war the finances were not so well managed as in the period from 1791 to 1811. Between 1811 and 1816 the people were compelled to get along with state banks, — that is, banks chartered by states, — of which more than a hundred sprang into existence. Some of the paper notes issued by these state banks were not redeemed on demand, and therefore did not have the purchasing power of gold and silver coins. To correct this situation, Congress in 1816 established the

second Bank of the United States, which issued a uniform currency and assisted the government in collecting its income and paying its debts.

Rise of Manufactures. — During the war between France and England much of their carrying trade fell to American shipowners, who began rapidly to grow rich. The long embargo and the non-intercourse acts, however, put an end to this prosperity. Many of the shipowners then invested their profits in factories. At first water power and then steam was used to turn mill wheels. It was considered patriotic, says the historian McMaster, "to wear Americanmade clothes, walk in American-made shoes, write on American-made paper, and use American-made furniture."

Because of the embargo and the war, Americans had to use up their iron, and wool, and cotton, or let them go unused. Clothing and tools and machinery were needed at home, and as these could not be obtained from outside, the American people found a way to make them. The efforts of New Englanders were remarkably successful. In 1807 the cotton mills of that section had 8000 spindles, whereas by the end of the war they had 500,000 and gave employment to 100,000 persons. Woolen and iron manufactures also prospered.

A Protective Tariff. — The tariff act of 1812 made the duties higher than ever before. But the European wars, which closed the markets, filled the warehouses of England to overflowing; and when peace came, fleets with English goods arrived at American ports and offered them for sale at low prices. To keep out such foreign articles and protect American goods from European competition, Congress raised the tariff in 1816, but some thought that the duties were still too low. In 1824 Henry Clay became the champion of the protective tariff policy, which he named the American System. In that year, after a long struggle, a

new tariff act was passed. At first the South favored the idea of a protective tariff, but later became most determined in its opposition. The North, especially New England, was divided in opinion, but in time came to favor the principle of protection.

Signs of Prosperity. — Prosperity was not confined to manufactures. In the years following the war there could be seen various signs of improvement. In many places bridges spanned streams that hitherto had been forded. There were built thousands of miles of good roads called turnpikes. This made travel by stagecoach more comfortable and the delivery of merchandise more prompt. Manufacturing and commerce turned quiet towns into busy cities and also led to the building of new towns. Academies and colleges were increasing in number. Of these institutions nearly two score had been founded by 1820.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING (1817-1825)

Election of Monroe. — In the election of 1816 James Monroe, a Virginian, defeated Rufus King, the presidential candidate of the Federalist party. The successful candidate, like his predecessor Madison, was a friend of Jefferson and a member of the Republican party. Like Jefferson, too, he had been educated at the College of William and Mary.

In 1820 Monroe was reëlected almost without opposition. But one electoral vote was cast against him. The Federalists, made unpopular during the late war, had not even named any candidate. Monroe's presidency was called "the era of good feeling," but it was not well named. His two terms are chiefly memorable because of disputes over Florida, the sectional quarrel which arose on the application of Missouri for admission as a state, and the announcement in American foreign policy of a principle known as the Monroe Doctrine.

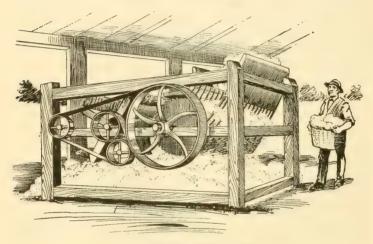
Florida Acquired. — The Seminole Indians, who dwelt in Florida, had long been troubling the frontier of Georgia. Spain, which owned Florida, was either unable or unwilling to keep them in order. It was in such circumstances that General Andrew Jackson invaded that territory in pursuit of marauders. His conduct was criticized in Congress as well as in the Cabinet, but the matter was settled by treaty in 1819, when the United States agreed to purchase Florida from Spain for \$5,000,000. The same treaty fixed the boundary between Mexico and the United States. Monroe thus gave up the American claim to Texas, but gained the Spanish claim to Oregon.

Slavery in the North. — Before the Revolutionary War all the colonies had negro slaves. For bringing Africans to America the settlers of the North were no less responsible than those of the South. In neither section did the majority of the people see anything wrong in the institution of human slavery. In time, however, it was discovered in the Northern colonies that there was almost nothing which negro slaves could do that could not be done better and more cheaply by white men. In a word, negro labor was no longer thought profitable. When that belief became general, slavery was not difficult to abolish. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1780, state after state in the North put an end to it.

Slavery in the South.— In the South the history of slavery was very different. Unskilled labor, which was unsatisfactory in the North, was in demand everywhere south of Mason and Dixon's line to cultivate cotton, to-bacco, and rice. Chiefly to please South Carolina and Georgia the framers of the Constitution permitted the importation of Africans for a period of twenty years; that is, until January 1, 1808. After that day, by act of Congress, no negroes could be imported. But even though by

a compromise slaves could be brought into the country for twenty years, in Virginia and in some other Southern states the institution was not popular.

Why Slavery Grew. — Washington, Jefferson, and other Southern statesmen expected that slavery would gradually disappear, but mighty forces were at work that fastened it firmly on their part of the republic. The first of these was Whitney's invention in 1793 of the cotton "gin" (engine).



AN OLD-TIME COTTON GIN

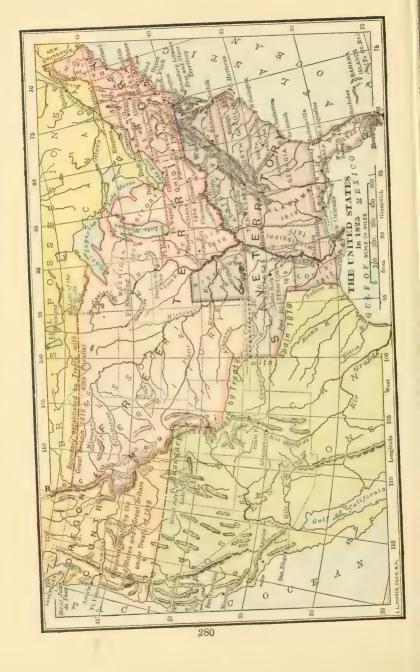
This made it easy to separate the seed from the fiber of the cotton plant, and thus overcame one of the chief difficulties in the way of producing great quantities. Moreover, the use in England of steam-driven machinery for spinning and weaving made it possible to manufacture immense quantities of cotton cloth. The English demand for raw cotton rapidly grew greater, and to meet it more slaves were needed. To the South slavery meant not only wealth but also an increase of political power, because three fifths of

the slaves were counted as population, and the greater the population the greater the number of members in the House of Representatives.

Signs of Discord. — The struggle over slavery was really a contest for political power. It was important to each section that the other should not outstrip it in the matter of representation in Congress. This will explain why Indiana, a free state, admitted in 1816, was balanced in 1817 by the admission of Mississippi, a slave state, and how in 1819 Alabama had been made a state to offset Illinois, which as a free state had entered the Union in 1818. In 1819 there were eleven free states and eleven slaveholding states. The boundary between them was formed in part by the Ohio River and in part by the Mason and Dixon line.

The Missouri Compromise.—In 1819 Congress was asked to admit Missouri into the Union. That territory, which was a part of the Louisiana purchase, had received many slaveholding settlers from Kentucky. On the other hand, much of the territory was farther north than the Ohio. The North believed that the line which separated free and slave states east of the Mississippi should be continued west of it. Representative Tallmadge, of New York, proposed an amendment to the bill for the admission of Missouri which would prohibit slavery in the proposed state. The modified measure passed the House, but the amendment was struck out by the Senate. The adjournment of Congress defeated the bill.

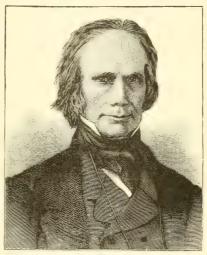
At the next session of Congress, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was adopted instead of the Tallmadge amendment. That state was admitted with permission to establish slavery, but slavery was forever prohibited in all the remainder of the Louisiana purchase north of 36°30′, the southern boundary of Missouri. To balance the slave state of Missouri, Maine entered the Union as a free state; it



was formerly a district of Massachusetts. This compromise was ably supported by Henry Clay; but in the long and bitter struggle over Missouri sectional passions had been

stirred up which for two score years never passed into forgetfulness and which in the end were set at rest only by the sword.

The Holy Alliance.—Spain had suffered from the wars against Napoleon. When, after his defeat at Waterloo, peace was established (1815) and she began to consider the state of her colonies in America, she found that from Louisiana to Cape Horn the



HENRY CLAY

more important of them had thrown off her government and had set up republican systems of their own. Feeling unequal to the task of winning them back, she invited the Holy Alliance, that is, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France, to assist her in recovering them. The United States, however, had already acknowledged the independence of the Spanish-American republics. Russia was establishing trading posts along the Pacific coast of North America and had one as far south as Bodega Bay in what is now California. When asked to leave, by Mexico, she declined.

The Monroe Doctrine. — In his message to Congress, December 2, 1823, the President stated that "the American continents... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." This part

of the message had reference to the Russian settlements. Another part of the message referred to the purpose of the Holy Alliance to assist Spain in recovering her colonies. The United States, said the President, had not interfered in the affairs of Europe and did not propose to do so. After mentioning the fact that the governmental systems of Europe were different from those of America, he added. "we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety." This was as much as to say that any attempt to change the free states of Spanish America back to colonies of Spain would be deemed by the United States a hostile act. These declarations by the President against (a) the establishment of new colonies in America and (b) against any attempts forcibly to change the forms of government in the western hemisphere, are known as the Monroe Doctrine. As England supported the United States, the allies attempted nothing. The Russian Czar consented to make 54° 40′ the southern limit of Alaska.

Political Parties. — Soon after 1820 the Federalist party disappeared, and nearly everybody belonged to the Republican party. From 1800 to 1820 presidential candidates had been nominated by Congressional caucuses. Later, candidates for President were named by state legis-

¹ Though Washington had been chosen President by all the electors, there grew up before his retirement from office marked opposition to his foreign as well as his domestic policy. The pupil is aware that John Adams, like Washington, was supported by the Federalists. That party favored a strong national government, a national bank, internal improvements at federal expense, and a good navy. On the other hand, the Republicans, followers of Jefferson, were opposed to a strong national government, to the United States Bank, to internal improvements at federal expense, and to a large navy. In the war between England and France the Federalists favored neutrality, while the Republicans would have had the United States interfere on the side of France. Most of the Republicans were opposed to the protective tariff, while New England, the home of the Federalists, approved the principle of protection.

latures, and not till after 1830 were they chosen by national nominating conventions as they are to-day. In 1824 the Congressional caucus nominated William H. Crawford. Other candidates were John Quincy Adams, the favorite of New England, Henry Clay, the choice of the Middle West and the Northwest, and Andrew Jackson, whose strength lay in the South and the Southwest. When the electoral votes were counted, it was found that they were divided as follows: Andrew Jackson, 99; John Quincy Adams, 84; William H. Crawford, 41; Henry Clay, 37; total, 261.

As no candidate received a majority (131), the electoral college had failed to choose a President. In such a case the Constitution (Amendment XII) provides that it is the duty of the House of Representatives, voting by states, to select one from the three highest on the list. There were then 24 states. Adams received the support of a majority (13), was declared President, and was duly inaugurated in 1825. John C. Calhoun had been chosen Vice President by the electoral college.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Describe the government's land policy. What forced people to go to the West? Give an account of the pioneer's home and his daily life. What led Americans to begin manufacturing? Discuss the protective tariff. How was Florida acquired?

What different views of slavery were held by the North and the South? What invention gave a great impetus to slavery in the South? What was the Missouri Compromise?

What are the two principles included in the Monroe Doctrine? Describe the presidential election of 1824. Why was Jackson not chosen by the vote in the electoral college?

References. — Henderson, American Diplomatic Questions; Sumner, Andrew Jackson, and Schurz, Henry Clay; (American Statesmen); Peck, The Jacksonian Epoch; Stanwood, A History of the Presidency.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE JACKSONIAN EPOCH

"Bargain and Corruption." — The friends of Jackson were grievously disappointed by his defeat in 1824; for, as we have seen, he had received a plurality of the electoral votes, though not a majority. They asserted that he was the choice of the people and that he had lost the presidency



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

merely because of a bargain. In the House of Representatives, they said, Clay was to persuade his friends to vote for Adams; in return, Adams was to appoint Clay to the chief place in his Cabinet. It is certain that no such agreement had been made, although Adams did appoint Clay Secretary of State. Indeed, in the long line of American statesmen few have been equal to John Quincy Adams in

point of ability, and in the matter of integrity still fewer. After 1824, however, Jackson hated Clay and all his works.¹

An Unsuccessful Administration. — As might have been expected from his character and intelligence, Adams was an able and upright President; but he accomplished little. Those admirers of Jackson who criticized the administration were left in undisturbed enjoyment of their offices; Adams probably believed them too insignificant for either contempt or punishment. From places made secure by this policy his enemies were ever attacking and misrepre-

¹ An inquiry by Congress proved that the charge against Adams was baseless and was merely an awkward invention of partisan malice. Jackson, however, liked to believe its truth.

senting him. For the wise measures he urged upon Congress, Adams found little support and seldom was honored by even a decent consideration of his recommendations. Thus it happened that during his term no administration measure was passed, while in his broad foreign policy he was also thwarted by Congress.

Rise of New Parties. — By this time the party of Jefferson was split into two hostile factions. The Jackson men claimed to be Democratic Republicans of the Jeffersonian type; the anti-Jackson men, led by Adams and Clay, called themselves National Republicans. From these factions there soon took shape two new political parties, known respectively as Democrats and Whigs.

The Tariff of 1828.— The protective tariff of 1824 resulted in some public benefits, but also aroused much opposition. In 1828 it was replaced by a new tariff, which laid still higher duties. This measure was severely criticized, especially in the South, where it was called the *Tariff of Abominations*. Indeed, that section talked of nullifying the law and even of seceding from the Union. A protective tariff, many Southerners declared, was unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust.

Election of 1828. — Adams had few of the arts of popularity. In fact, he had not been long in office before he was greatly disliked. In his manner he was stiff, harsh, and cold. He made enemies, it is said, at almost every turn. On the other hand, Jackson, who had neither the lofty ideals nor the training of the President, far outstripped him in all the little arts of electioneering. For three years the "Hero of New Orleans" was the central figure at public dinners and receptions. In one view his qualities were suggested by the affectionate nickname "Old Hickory," and in another by the description the "Man of the People." The new democracy of the new West were convinced that he was

brave, patriotic, and virtuous; above all, that he was opposed to the existence of any privileged class. Add to all this the fact that his military renown had grown hourly since his remarkable victory at New Orleans, and one sees that he was a strong candidate for the high office that he sought. Adams, who had confidence in the advantages of his own excellent record, did nothing to promote his reelection. Therefore, when the electoral votes were counted



ANDREW JACKSON

in 1828, it was found that President Adams had not received half as many as General Jackson.

Inauguration of Jackson.
— "The inauguration," says
the historian McMaster,
"was of the simplest kind.
Uncovered, on foot, escorted
by the committee in charge,
and surrounded on both sides
by gigs, wood wagons, hacks
full of women and children,
and followed by thousands
of men from all parts of the

country, Jackson walked from his hotel to the Capitol and on the east portico took the oath of office. A wild rush was then made by the people to shake his hand. With difficulty the President reached a horse and started for the White House 'pursued by a motley concourse of people, riding, running helter-skelter, striving who should first gain admittance.' "Relating the unusual events of that day, Daniel Webster, an eyewitness, says: "At the White House the crowd upset the pails of punch, broke the glasses, and stood with their muddy boots on the satin-covered chairs to see the people's President."

The Spoils System. — The thousands who thronged the lodging houses and the hotels of Washington had not all gone thither merely to witness the spectacle of an inauguration. Many were on hand to seek offices. Though there were not places enough for all, Jackson adopted a policy that provided for many. His future interests were secured by the appointment to office of the editors who had supported him during his campaign. If any such friend was unable to find a position, he was rewarded with some of the public printing. In the course of a few weeks hundreds of clerks and others were turned out to make room for the President's friends.

Until 1829 officeholders had seldom been dismissed except for cause; but within a year Jackson made more than 2000 removals. It mattered not that a clerk had grown old in the service, or that he had always satisfactorily performed his duties. The President maintained that no special fitness was required to perform the work of those who had been removed. In all these changes his aim was to reward by appointment to office those who had worked for his election. To provide places for so many, it was necessary to make many removals. When the new practice was attacked in Congress, Senator Marcy, of New York, declared that in his state men saw nothing wrong in the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils of office."

In making appointments the public welfare was forgotten. Many of the men named by Jackson and his friends were unworthy, and for a time the government service was badly crippled by his official conduct. Established in 1829, the "spoils system" flourished unchecked for more than fifty years.

Nullification. — Within a year President Jackson had more serious business on hand than the distribution of offices among his followers. The "Tariff of Abominations"

called forth protests from several of the Southern States. In Charleston, South Carolina, flags were displayed at half-mast and people were urged not to buy the merchandise of the North. John C. Calhoun and other leaders in South Carolina believed that the law should be nullified. He claimed among other things: (1) that the tariff was



DANIEL WEBSTER

ruinous to the South; (2) that the principle of protection was unconstitutional; that is, Congress had no right, under the Constitution, to levy protective duties; (3) that in the case of an act plainly unconstitutional and clearly injurious any state had a right peacefully to nullify the law within her borders.

In January, 1830, the Southern view was ably presented to Congress by Senator Hayne. Still more ably did Daniel Webster in two great orations prove the absurdity of nullification as a remedy and state the principle of nationality. Webster held that there is no middle ground between submission to the law and resistance; the latter, he declared, is rebellion. From that time forth there was an

unceasing conflict between the idea of the sovereignty of the several *States* and the sovereignty of the *Nation*. So alarmed were the friends of the tariff at the earnestness of the South that in 1832 Congress decided to reduce the duties on imports.

Nullification Attempted. — Though duties had been lowered, South Carolina held out against the law, for it

still contained the principle of protection. Delegates were chosen in that state to a convention which adopted an Ordinance of Nullification forbidding the collection of tariff duties in South Carolina after February 1, 1833.

Without delay Jackson accepted the challenge of the South Carolina convention by strengthening the garrison at Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor. In a short time it became known that he had resolved to meet nullification with force. In December, 1832, when Congress assembled, he asked for a law to enable him to collect the revenue by force if it should be necessary.

In the debate on the proposed Force Act, Calhoun, who had resigned the vice presidency to become a senator from South Carolina, defended nullification and claimed that it was not only a peaceful and lawful remedy but a perfectly proper exercise of state rights. Webster declared that nullification and secession were rebellion. In this discussion with Webster, Calhoun fared no better than had Hayne in the earlier argument.

The Compromise of 1833. — To uphold the government the Force Act was passed by Congress, but as South Carolina repealed the Ordinance of Nullification, it was not necessary for Jackson to use it. The South Carolina leaders, however, did not repeal their ordinance until Congress had passed a bill satisfactory to them. The Compromise of 1833, as this measure is called, was introduced by Henry Clay. It provided that the tariff of 1832 should be gradually reduced till 1842, when all duties should be twenty per cent on the value of the imported articles.

Jackson Reëlected. — In the midst of contests over the tariff and other questions, Jackson was reëlected in 1832, by a greater majority than before. His opponent was Henry ('lay, nominated by a convention of the National Republicans, or Whigs, as he called them. The Jackson

men were called "Tories," but they indignantly rejected the epithet and took the name Democrats. This Democratic party, which has continued till the present time, was the same as the Republican party founded by Jefferson.

The United States Bank. — The Second United States Bank, chartered in 1816 (page 274), established branch banks in many of the large cities of the country. Though its charter would not expire till 1836, its president was persuaded to apply earlier for a renewal of the charter. This brought on with Jackson one of the most bitter controversies in our history. The Bank had great power over the business of the nation, but it had used its power for the public welfare. It was also possible for the Bank to exercise great power in politics, but at that time it had not done so. The danger Jackson clearly saw, the benefits he does not appear to have appreciated. In 1832 a bill to renew the charter passed Congress, but it was vetoed by President Jackson.

Removal of the Deposits. — In the presidential election of 1832 the chief issue was "Jackson or the Bank." Accordingly his success seemed to the President like an approval of his purpose to destroy the Bank. Under a new Secretary of the Treasury the United States revenue was deposited in a number of state banks called "pet banks," while drafts for federal expenses were drawn against the money in the United States Bank. In this way in a short time the public deposits in that bank were all withdrawn.

Treatment of the Indians. — When Jackson became President, Indian tribes owned much of the best lands in Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. The white man longed for possession of those lands; the red man was anxious to keep them. To the Indians the President gave the choice either of obeying the laws of the state in which they lived and remaining on so much of their lands as they

could use or of giving up their grounds east of the Mississippi for territory to the west of that river. When, in 1830, Congress appropriated money so that they could exchange their old hunting grounds for Western tracts, most of the tribes agreed to that arrangement, though force had to be used against the Cherokees. By 1840, however, most of the Indian nations of the South were settled in the country afterward known as the Indian Territory.

Payment of the National Debt. — The national debt was being rapidly paid off when by the War of 1812 it was once more increased. The era following the Treaty of Ghent (1814) was for the most part a season of prosperity. During those years the government was in receipt of a large revenue and its business was carefully managed. This enabled President Jackson in 1835 to pay off the last penny of the public debt.

The Surplus Revenue. — The income of the government remained about the same, though the outgo was less. This condition left in the "pet banks" a growing surplus of money belonging to the government. On January 1, 1837, it amounted to \$42,468,000. Of this sum Congress resolved to keep \$5,000,000 on deposit, and to loan the remainder, \$37,468,000, to the states. The money was to be paid to the states in four equal installments, but only three of them were paid when the panic of 1837 upset the business of the whole country.

The Panic of 1837. — Some of the "pet banks" were carelessly managed and often on doubtful security loaned money (coin or bank notes), to those who desired to borrow. Other banks still more recklessly managed, "wildcat banks" as they were called, sprang up in great number and issued many bank notes, thus making it still easier to borrow money. This encouraged people to speculate in public lands, in other real estate, and in all kinds of enterprises.

The situation was not improved when, in July, 1836, President Jackson issued a "Specie Circular" ordering land offices to accept in payment for public lands only gold and silver. This was the same as a notice to the nation that much of the paper money in use — namely, the notes of banks — was of doubtful value. When called on to redeem their notes in gold and silver, some banks had to call for the payment of the loans they had made. Some of the borrowers could not pay. Soon the banks were unable to redeem their notes, and in a little while a panic swept over the country. Nobody would lend money. Factories and mills were forced to shut down, commercial houses closed their doors, workmen were without employment and even without food. In New York there were bread riots.

The Election of 1836. — In a Democratic convention, which met on May 20, 1835, Martin Van Buren, the close friend of President Jackson, was unanimously nominated for the presidency. The Whigs held no national convention, but various state conventions nominated William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. When the result was announced, it was found that Van Buren had been elected.¹

The Subtreasury.— The panic of 1837 occurred during Van Buren's administration, but it was either caused or hastened by Jackson's measures. Whatever may have been the faults of the United States Bank it had been a safer depository of government money than the "pet banks" proved to be. This condition forced President Van Buren to find a substitute. He was convinced that the time had come when the United States government should collect, keep, and, when required, pay out its revenue

¹ The electoral college having failed to give a majority to any candidate for Vice President, the United States Senate elected the chief Democratic candidate, Richard M. Johnson, to that office.

without the assistance of any bank. He therefore persuaded Congress to establish the Independent Treasury or, as it is generally called, the Subtreasury system. Vaults were built in Washington and in other cities in which, under the supervision of the Treasury, were kept the revenues of the federal government.

The "Patriot War" in Canada. — During the administration of President Van Buren what is known as the "Patriot War" broke out in Canada. Many Americans assisted the people across the border in an attempted revolution. The Canadian rebels seized Navy Island, in the Niagara River, and there set up a government. Considerable supplies came from Buffalo and other places on the American side of the river. By compelling Americans to remain neutral, Van Buren made himself unpopular with many.

The Abolition Movement. — In the beginning of the nineteenth century most of the societies working to secure the abolition of slavery were in the South. Afterward. when similar associations began to spring up in the North. those in the South disappeared. In 1833 delegates from many antislavery societies met in Philadelphia and formed the American Anti-Slavery Society. By such organizations the South, which at that time had a great majority of the negro slaves, was flooded with pictures, handbills, and newspapers designed to stir up a feeling against human servitude and to free the slaves. In many Northern cities, which disliked sectional strife, mobs rudely broke up antislavery meetings. At Alton, Illinois, Elijah Lovejoy, an antislavery leader, was killed by a mob while he was defending his printing press. In 1839 an abolition party convention at Warsaw, New York, nominated James G. Birney for President.1

¹ Birney had edited an Abolition newspaper in Alabama, and later in Cincinnati, Ohio, where, in 1835, his printing office was twice sacked by mobs.

The Election of 1840. — Though President Van Buren was a statesman of good sense and ability, and had acted with great prudence during the panic, the people could not forget the years of disaster and suffering during his term. For the hard times the Whigs blamed the Democrats. A Whig convention met at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in December, 1839, and nominated William Henry Harrison (pages 261–264), for President and John Tyler, of Virginia,



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

for Vice President. In May, 1840, a Democratic convention without opposition renominated Van Buren for President.

A foolish sneer by a Democratic newspaper greatly assisted the campaign of General Harrison. It said that he would be more at home in a log cabin drinking cider than living in the White House as President. At once the Whigs took this up as an insult to the millions who were then living in

log cabins or whose parents had dwelt in them. Harrison's friends selected the log cabin as their party emblem. Whig headquarters were always in a log cabin; every town and hamlet in the land had its log cabin; in all Whig parades there were log cabins. The Whigs adopted no platform but turned the campaign into a season of fun and frolic. In their countless torchlight processions they shouted for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

In the election of 1840 Harrison and Tyler received 234 electoral votes, while Van Buren received but 60. Birney, the Abolition candidate, received no electoral votes, though in the Northern States 7000 citizens had cast their ballots for him.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. - Explain Jackson's dislike of Henry Clay. Why was the administration of Adams not successful? Describe Jackson's long campaign for the presidency; also his inauguration. What was the "spoils system"? Discuss nullification and name its principal advocate.

What was Jackson's feeling toward the second United States Bank? Who were the Whigs and who the "Tories" of this period? What was done with the surplus revenue in 1837? What was the specie circular? Who succeeded Jackson in the presidency? What was the condition of trade and industry during 1837? In whose administration was the Independent Treasury established? What was the Abolition movement? Who were elected President and Vice President in 1840?

References. — The same readings suggested in the preceding chapter will be found useful in this; also, Bourne's Distribution of the Surplus Revenue of 1837; Catterall's Second Bank of the United States.

CHAPTER XXIV

DEVELOPMENT, IMMIGRATION, AND REFORM (1820-1840)

Before studying the events of the Harrison-Tyler administration, it will be well to take a view of the progress made by the nation during the preceding two decades.

National Turnpike; Early Canals.—By the help of Congress a National Turnpike had been built from Cumberland, Maryland, on the Potomac River, across Pennsylvania to Wheeling, Virginia, on the Ohio River. In 1824 plans were laid for extending this road and by 1840 it was completed to the Mississippi River. This great highway, often crowded almost like a city street, passed through the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The Erie Canal was constructed by the state of New York to connect the Hudson River with the Great Lakes. Begun in 1817 by De Witt Clinton, the enterprising governor of the state, in 1825 it was opened to the public for trade and travel. In a remarkable prophecy Governor Clinton set forth its benefits to the entire nation and its advantages to the city of New York. "That city," he said, "will in the course of time become the granary of the world, the emporium of commerce, the seat of manufacturing, the focus of great moneyed operations . . . and before the revolution of a century the whole island of Manhattan, covered with habitations and replenished with a dense population, will constitute one vast city." Before the century had passed, not only was the island of Manhattan covered with houses, but the dwellings and factories and stores of the city had invaded both Long Island and Staten Island as

well as the mainland, to form the mighty metropolis which we know as Greater New York. The western part of the state began to fill up with settlers, thus adding immensely to the value of its land. Before the Erie Canal was opened it had cost \$100 to send a ton of merchandise from New York to Buffalo. The canal reduced the freight charge to \$20 a ton. The packets, or passenger boats, made the journey in six days. Buffalo built up a large and profitable lake trade.



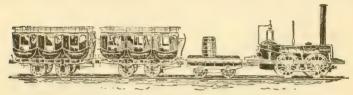
PASSENGER BOAT ON THE ERIE CANAL

By 1833 Pennsylvania had a canal system extending from the Susquehanna River to Pittsburgh, and Ohio had canals connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River. By the systems of communication thus established the whole Union was benefited, especially Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Territory of Michigan, which in 1837 became a state.

The First Railways. — The success of New York and the example of Pennsylvania forced the merchants of Baltimore and other Maryland people to improve their means of communication with the West. In 1828 they began the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the first

in the United States for the carriage of passengers and freight.¹ The first shovelful of earth was turned up, July 4, by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence.

In 1836 there was completed a railroad, 136 miles long, connecting Charleston, South Carolina, with Hamburg, opposite Augusta, Georgia. By 1835 there were twenty-two railroads in the country. Five years later the total mile-



EARLY LOCOMOTIVE AND TRAIN

age of the railways was almost 3000. Not only was merchandise carried more cheaply and travelers more quickly by the railroads, but they served as links to bind the East to the West, thus adding to the strength of the Union.

Development of Steamboats.—As we have seen, the first striking improvement in communication was begun in 1807 by the successful trips of Fulton's steamboat on the Hudson River. In a little while vessels built like the Clermont steamed on the Great Lakes and on the rivers of the West. In 1811 Pittsburgh and New Orleans, and in 1818 Buffalo and Detroit were connected by steamboats. The use of steamboats was increased with the building of turnpikes and canals. It took a keel boat thirty to forty days to make the journey from Louisville, Kentucky, to New Orleans, and, poled by sturdy river men, about ninety

¹ At several places tramways had already been built for carrying earth, stone, and coal. The first of these was built in Boston in 1807. In 1830 the first American steam locomotive, made by Peter Cooper, was put upon the tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

days to come back. On the other hand, a steamer made the downward trip in seven days and returned in sixteen.

In 1819 the Savannah, an American steamer sailing from the port of that name, crossed to Liverpool, England, in twenty-five days. This was the first trans-Atlantic voyage by steamer. By 1838, however, vessels moved by steam carried mail to England in a little more than two weeks. With the founding of the Cunard line by the British in 1839 there began the regular steam navigation of the Atlantic.

Domestic Trade. — During the era from 1820 to 1840 the commercial progress of the nation was seen chiefly in the growth of domestic trade. In the South the planters sold their cotton to the Middle States, to New England, and to Europe. For the money thus received they bought the surplus farm produce of the West. It was not until railroads had been built over the Alleghenies that the West began to send much of its produce to the East. Some, indeed, had been sent by way of the canals of New York and Pennsylvania.

The Factory System. — By 1840 household manufacture began to decline and even to disappear in parts of the country; many things formerly made in the home were beginning to be made in factories, but on a small scale. In large buildings the employees under skilled managers carried on all the processes of manufacturing. More than half the cotton goods made in the United States were produced in New England. Two thirds of the operatives were either children under twelve years of age or women. In Rhode Island the children were paid \$1.50 a week and the women \$2.20. The pupil will notice the social improvement that has taken place when he contrasts the toiling children of that epoch with his own more fortunate companions, who spend much of their time at school or at play.

The Reaper and Other Inventions. — To this period belongs the invention of the reaper (1831), by Cyrus Hall McCormick. Even though its merit could never have been doubted, many years passed before he could put it on the market. This machine, somewhat improved, is still in use wherever there is farming on a large scale. It was the



McCORMICK REAPER OF 1845

reaper which made possible the harvesting of the vast grain fields of the western United States.

In this period, the first illuminating gas was

made from coal; Fairbanks invented the platform scales; and Colt invented a revolver which took the place of the single shot pistol. Friction matches gradually came into use. In 1836 anthracite coal was successfully used in generating steam, and during the same year John Ericsson invented the screw propeller, which required less fuel than the paddle wheel; moreover, it was always in the water, while in a rough sea the paddles were often revolving in the air. In 1838 the steam hammer was invented. Indeed so numerous were those engaged in the work of invention that in 1836 the Patent Office was made a distinct bureau of the government to examine and pass upon their applications.

Improvement in Education. — The American people were thinking about many things besides labor-saving machinery. Leaders of public opinion were convinced that under any form of government education is desirable but that in a democracy it is indispensable. It was during 1828 that

there appeared the first edition of Noah Webster's dictionary, an epoch-making book. In New England, Horace Mann aroused an interest in public education. Beginning in 1837 he had the satisfaction of seeing in that section a better system of schools. The Middle States, too, were improving their schools, but in the South progress came more slowly. The Western States had already traced the outline of their free school system. In that section the federal government gave for the support of education a tract of one square mile in every thirty-six. When it was sold, the sum received was invested and the interest applied to the support of public schools.

Literature. — With the marked improvement in the schools and the rise of a rich class came a more general

demand for good reading This was supplied by a number of writers whose works really began the American branch of English literature. It was just about the time when Jefferson was leaving behind him the cares of office (1809) that Irving published his entertaining History of Diedrich Knickerbocker. A few years later (1813) Bryant, when only



NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

nineteen years old, gave to the world Thanatopsis, a fine poem on death. In the intervals between the editorial duties of a lifetime he wrote To a Waterfowl and other verses scarcely inferior. The Indian tales of Cooper began to appear in 1821. Perhaps The Last of the Mohicans is the best known. Hawthorne began to delight his readers in 1828. Within the same decade (1829) Poe, a master of prose and verse, began to publish. In their kind it may be doubted whether any author has equalled Poe's Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque. In the next decade, 1830–1840,

the number of great American authors was doubled. The new writers included Whittier, dedicated to the antislavery movement; Longfellow, the most popular of American poets; the historian Prescott; George Bancroft, another



GEORGE BANCROFT

master in the same field; the essayist, poet, and philosopher Emerson; and Holmes, a witty and graceful prose stylist and a lyric poet of rare power. In 1841, lying just beyond the epoch under discussion, was published the first work of James Russell Lowell, essayist and poet. The authors above named gave answer to the sneer of the English essayist Sydney Smith, asking, in 1820, "Who, in the four quarters of the globe, reads an American book?"

Growth of Cities and Towns. — When the Constitution was framed (1787), the American people were chiefly interested in agriculture. From the earliest times there were large plantations in the South. At first the most important crops were tobacco and indigo, but after Whitney's invention (page 278) cotton became more and more important and in a few years was the chief article of export from the United States. Unlike the Northern farmer the planter owned his laborers, the negro slaves, who were generally unskilled. In the South, almost entirely devoted to planting, there were few great cities or even large towns.

In the cities and towns of New England and the Middle States population increased by the removal from country villages of large families whose women and children obtained employment in mills and factories. The seaports grew not only by the natural increase of population but by immigration. Many of the newcomers, too poor to purchase farms, and in some cases even to pay their expenses into the interior, accepted at the place of landing any sort

of employment that offered. When immigrants began to arrive by tens of thousands, multitudes were taken by contractors engaged in building canals and railways. After such public improvements were completed, the foreign laborer often settled down in some quiet village and in due time became a citizen of the United States.

The almost magical growth of cities and towns worked changes in the old life of the people and even in their local government. In the streets the dim oil lamps, which burned only on moonless nights, were replaced by gas lights. The constable, an official whose honored name (count of the stable, or master of the horse) had come down the centuries, soon yielded to the policeman. So great had grown a few cities that it was possible to make long journeys without passing their limits. This led to the establishment of a system of cheap transportation. In 1830 New York led the way with a line of omnibuses. The first success encouraged other attempts. Three years later Philadelphia imitated the example of New York.

Labor Organizations. — The rise of the factory system and the activity in building turnpikes, canals, and railroads made a great demand for labor. From Europe came multitudes of workingmen. The skilled were given employment in mills and machine shops, the unskilled in the building of canals and railroads. By 1825 at least two of the trades had unions. In the city of New York, in 1833, twenty-two labor societies took part in a parade. These associations assisted the sick, the unemployed, and those on strike. They also endeavored to secure better wages for the members of their unions and to limit the hours of a working day.

Dorr's Rebellion. — With the success of Jefferson's party the right to vote was broadened in state after state, and in time was given to nearly all male citizens who had attained to their twenty-first year. — Rhode Island was the last state to cling to the old restrictions. Under its charter only those could vote who owned real estate worth \$134 or paid a yearly rental of \$7. This property qualification excluded from the suffrage a majority of male citizens of voting age. In 1841 there was organized a people's party which tried by peaceful revolution to set up a liberal constitution for the state. Under the new constitution Thomas W. Dorr was elected governor, and he attempted to seize control of the state. The governor under the old charter, however, called out the militia to support his government. Dorr was deserted by his party, was arrested, tried, and convicted of treason, for which he was sentenced to life imprisonment. But he was pardoned in 1842, and a liberal constitution was adopted by the voters.

An Epoch of Reform (1820–1840). — In this period imprisonment for debt was abolished and in later times the punishments for crime were made less severe. Hospitals were established and the discipline of prisons was improved. There were also reforms in diet and in dress. Graham impressed many with the benefits of brown bread and water. Robert Owen taught a kind of communism, and other leaders also founded settlements based on similar principles, but they were not permanently successful.

Spiritual Unrest. — The early years of the nineteenth century were marked by wars of creeds, the new attacking

¹ In part of New York disorders of another kind were caused by a struggle of the people against conditions that had persisted from colonial times. The founder of the Van Rensselaer family in New York was so active in the work of colonization that he received from the Dutch West India Company, as patroon, a tract as great in extent as the state of Rhode Island. The farmers on his vast estate had been accustomed to pay their rent in produce. On them fell also the burden of state and local taxes, while the patroon was exempt. On the death, in 1839, of one of the patroons his heir attempted to collect some rents which were overdue, but the farmers assembled and drove off the sheriff. This was the beginning of what is known as the Anti-Rent War, which dragged on till 1846. The trouble was finally set at rest by allowing the farmers to buy the land they tilled.

the old. The revivals of that time interested even the lowest rank in society. By 1801 as many as 20,000 persons sometimes attended the camp meetings, often held in open groves. Entire villages were oftentimes forsaken and the highways thronged with people on their way to the groves. By 1831 William Miller was preaching the Second Advent of Christ. Another evidence of the spiritual unrest of this time was the growth of the Mormons, a sect founded by Joseph Smith.¹

Mormonism. — The first Mormon church was organized in 1830, with a membership of six. They soon removed to Kirtland, Ohio, where they were joined by a Baptist minister and a part of his congregation. There they built a temple, established a communistic society, and engaged in banking. But during the panic of 1837 their bank failed, and the Mormon leaders were soon in flight from the officers of the law. The Mormons next settled in Missouri, but were disliked by their neighbors and forced to leave. At Nauvoo, in western Illinois, they became numerous and powerful. Smith now began secretly to teach polygamy, whereupon the more moral of his followers left his church and in a newspaper strongly condemned the prophet's immorality. Smith caused their printing office to be de-

¹ Joseph Smith was born in Vermont in 1805. His mother was a fortune-teller and his father, also named Joseph Smith, was a well-finder. In western New York, to which the family removed in 1816, young Smith grew to manhood. By practice in a debating society he gained a sort of rude eloquence. He could write his name. While still young he began a career of deception, spending a part of his time in blessing crops and digging, as his father had done, for buried treasure.

He claimed that in a vision an angel in white told him where certain gold plates were buried; that he dug them up and with some difficulty brought them home. With the plates, he said, were two stones, "Urim" and "Thummim," set in silver bows in the manner of lenses in a spectacle frame. By looking through them he claimed that he was able to translate the characters on the plates. The money for printing the Book of Mormon, as the "translation" was called, was furnished by a neighboring farmer.

stroyed. This act of violence brought to the town a body of militia which carried off the prophet and lodged him in



A MORMON GUIDEPOST (THE SKULL OF A BUFFALO)

jail, where he was shot by a mob (1844). Most of the Mormons then went far west and built up what is now the state of Utah.¹

Anti-Catholic Feeling.—In colonial New England there was a feeling of extreme

bitterness toward Catholics. This hostility was slightly changed by the friendship of France and of Spanish America during the War for Independence. As members of the Catholic faith became more numerous and their churches began to multiply, malicious people in Massachusetts fanned the embers of religious hatred until popular passion was at white heat.

It was in such a state of public feeling that an overworked and nervous nun left the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown,

¹ They numbered perhaps 10,000 and were led by the new Mormon prophet, Brigham Young. Anxious to escape from the United States, they journeyed by way of the Platte Valley to Great Salt Lake, then in Mexico. But when they arrived there (1848), all that region had been acquired by the United States as a result of the Mexican War. After a year of hardship, Deseret, as they named their new community, began to prosper. In 1857 Brigham Young declared that the Lord, in a revelation to the prophet Joseph Smith, had enjoined the practice of polygamy or plural marriage. It was in the same year that a band of Mormons, disguised as Indians, massacred at the Mountain Meadows more than a hundred settlers on their way to California. The practice of polygamy in the Mormon church continued for more than thirty years — until Congress applied heavy penalties for it.

Massachusetts. By Bishop Fenwick she was persuaded to return and was placed under the care of a physician. By the industry of the pulpit and the press, the public was convinced that at the convent a nun was forcibly detained and was the victim of harsh treatment. Accordingly on the night of August 9, 1834, there surrounded the academy a mob shouting, "Down with the convent! Down with the nuns!" When the nun assured them that she was free to leave the convent if she desired, the more reasonable declared themselves satisfied, but they were not heeded.

Fanaticism was fully aroused. Meetings were held to organize the work of destruction. At midnight the gentle nuns and their fifty-five young ladies were rudely awakened from sleep, and half-dressed were driven forth into the night. The mob, at that stage beyond control, burst the door, rushed into the building, and drove the trembling inmates to its upper rooms. The rioters smashed the furniture, profaned the chapel, stole the jewelry, and applied the torch. The climbing flames gave notice to the peaceful dwellers in the shadow of Bunker Hill that the devil was abroad.

The next day there assembled at Faneuil Hall many of the indignant citizens of Boston who denounced the destruction of the convent as an act at once base and cowardly. In Cambridge there was held a similar meeting. At the moment there was vague talk of restitution. Compensation was considered, but none has ever been made.

¹ The outbreak against Catholics was not confined to Boston, but grew to be nation wide. Bigotry, which needs no stimulus, was greatly inflamed by the appearance two years later (1836) of a book prepared by conspirators for Maria Monk. This unfortunate girl posed as a former inmate of a convent in Montreal. In New York she was taken up by zealous church workers, who attempted to maintain the truth of her story even after its falsity had been proved. A committee of Protestant elergymen, however, pronounced her statements utterly false. Maria Monk had never been a nun. The great leaders of America have never encouraged intolerance.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Ouestions. - State the importance of the Erie Canal. Give an account of the first railways: also of early steamboat navigation. What is said of the factory system? Name the important inventions of the period 1820-1840.

Who aroused interest in the public schools? Give the name of a book, a poem, or a story by Irving, by Whittier, by Bryant, by Cooper, by Poe. What kind of books were written by Prescott and Bancroft? Name other authors of this period. Describe the growth of towns and cities. What is said of labor organizations? What was Dorr's Rebellion? How were the disputes about rents finally settled in New York?

Give the history of Mormonism. When and where was the prophet Smith murdered? Who followed him in the leadership?

How did the Anti-Catholic feeling in Charlestown, Massachusetts, express itself?

References. — Carroll D. Wright, Industrial Evolution of the United States: Kennedy, Early Days of Mormonism; H. H. Bancroft, History of Utah: O'Gorman, The Catholic Church in the United States.

CHAPTER XXV

EXPANSION AND DISSENSION (1840-1852)

Harrison and Tyler. — In 1840 the Whigs elected not only the President (page 294), but also a majority in Congress. As soon as Harrison was inaugurated, he called a special session of Congress to undo the work of the Democrats, but he lived only a month after taking office, and when Congress assembled John Tyler was President.

On the whole Tyler was more in sympathy with the Democrats than with the Whigs who elected him. Clay and his Whig followers had long been in favor of a United States Bank. Now that they were in power they attempted to carry out their party principles. But the bill for chartering a new national bank was vetoed by President Tyler. In a little while all the members of his Cabinet, except Daniel Webster, resigned, and in an address to the people the Whig Congressmen read the President out of their party.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty. — Webster remained in office as Secretary of State until he had arranged with Great Britain a treaty which fixed the disputed northeastern boundary of Maine and settled one or two other questions. In the negotiations Great Britain was represented by Lord Ashburton. Under the treaty neither party got all that it claimed; the disputed tract was divided about equally.

It was likewise provided by this treaty that to stop the slave trade each government would keep, cruising on the African coast, a squadron carrying at least eighty guns. There was also a provision that any person charged with a grave crime in either country and escaping into the other should, if possible, be given up to the officials of the country in which the crime was committed.

Longing for Texas. — Before the treaty of 1819, for the acquisition of Florida, the Texan question had been a subject of dispute between the United States and Mexico. The United States claimed that Louisiana extended westward to the Rio Grande. But so anxious was President Monroe to obtain Florida that the American claim to the land beyond the Sabine River was given up (page 277). This treaty was never satisfactory to the South. Only a few months after the United States had abandoned Texas, James Long, of Tennessee, issued from Nacogdoches (nak-o-do'chez). Texas, a proclamation of Texan independence. But after the revolt against Spain. Texas was included in the independent country of Mexico. Moses Austin and his son Stephen, by permission of Mexico, brought into Texas many settlers from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. By 1830 there were 20,000 people in Texas, and newspapers and public acts were printed in the English language. At San Felipe (fā-lē'pā) a council prepared a constitution for the state of Texas, and sent to Mexico a petition for relief; but there was civil war in that republic and the petition was ignored. Then Mexican soldiers began to crowd into the territory. In October, 1835, the Texans successfully attacked the Mexican garrisons and in two months drove the troops from the country. In the meantime the Texans had organized a government and appointed Sam Houston as commander in chief of their army.

War between Texas and Mexico. — The Texans declared that they took up arms in defense of their liberties, which were threatened by Mexican military despots; also to defend the Mexican constitution of 1824, modeled on the Constitution of the United States. They refused to acknowledge the present officials as the government of the Mexican Republic. From New Orleans and other places in the South the Texans were constantly receiving money,

men, arms, and provisions. On the pretense that there was an Indian uprising, American troops passed into Texas to protect the settlers. In this state of affairs the Mexican minister left Washington, thus breaking off diplomatic relations.

Texans Declare Independence. — On March 2, 1836, at Washington, Texas, a convention adopted a declaration of independence. The delegates stated that the constitution



THE FIGHT AT THE ALAMO

of 1824 had been overthrown, freedom of worship denied, no system of education established, or trial by jury instituted.

In February, 1836, the Mexican leader, Santa Anna, marched to the Alamo (ah'lah-mo), a mission at San Antonio garrisoned by one hundred fifty men under Colonel Travis. The commander refusing to surrender or to retire, an assault was ordered, and on March 6 the defenders

were put to the sword. Afterward small parties were destroyed by the Mexican army and many prisoners were shot. On April 21, 1836, General Sam Houston made a stand at San Jacinto, in southeastern Texas, where he was attacked by the Mexicans. Santa Anna was captured and his army, which lost heavily, was routed. The Texans charged with the cry, "Remember the Alamo!" During the six years that followed Mexico was torn by strife. There were revolts in Yucatan, in the northern states, and even in the city of Mexico. The treasury was empty and the army disorganized. Each administration squeezed millions from the Church, often demanding from it sums far in excess of its revenues. Mexico never reëstablished her authority over Texas, which set up a government of its own and proposed annexation to the United States.¹

Election of 1844; Annexation of Texas.—In 1844 President Tyler made a treaty of annexation and submitted it to the Senate, but that body refused to ratify it. In the election of that year the Democratic party declared in favor of the "re-annexation" of Texas; also the "re-occupation" of Oregon up to 54° 40′. The Whigs nominated their great leader Clay, but he was defeated by James K. Polk, the Democratic candidate. The success of the Democrats was regarded by Tyler as a popular command to annex Texas. Having failed to secure that state by treaty, he signed a joint resolution of Congress providing for its annexation.²

The Oregon Claimants. — To the rights of Spain on the northwest coast the United States succeeded by the Florida

¹ So cautious was President Jackson that though the acquisition of Texas was one of the master passions of his life, historians have told us that he was opposed to it. In writing to his intimate friends Jackson was fond of saying, "We must regain Texas, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."

² The ratification of a treaty requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate; but a resolution may be passed by a majority.

treaty (1819; page 277). Some statesmen held that when Louisiana was purchased (1803), our government acquired any interest which France had had in the Oregon country. In 1792 Captain Robert Gray, in his ship *Columbia*, had sailed up the great river of Oregon. But just as he returned and was beating out to sea he met the British navigator Vancouver, who was about to explore the same region. To him Gray gave a map and mentioned his discovery. Vancouver, after sending a boat up the Columbia, which had been so named by Gray, claimed the region for King George III.

The work of Vitus Bering gave to Russia (1741) a claim to the northwest coast of North America. By reason of later exploration and settlement that nation claimed everything from Bering Strait to a point below the Columbia, and in 1816 sent its traders down as far as California. But after the announcement of President Monroe in 1823 (page 281), Russia left California and withdrew far to the north. This left the United States and England to contend for the ownership of Oregon.¹

Joint Occupation. — In 1818 it was agreed that the northern boundary of the United States should be a line extending from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Moun-

As the Spaniards had sailed up the coast long before Sir Francis Drake, England had no claim because of his piratical cruise of 1579. Two hundred years later another renowned English navigator, Captain Cook, arrived at Nootka Sound, on Vancouver Island, a few years after the Spaniard Perez. Upon the explorations of Thompson, Fraser, and Mackenzie, who had gone overland into the unknown West, Great Britain in part based her claim to that territory. Vancouver's work we have seen. In 1790, by the agreement known as the Nootka Sound Convention, Spain was forced to acknowledge English rights in the Northwest. In 1809 the Missouri Fur Company planted an American settlement on the Snake River, but during 1811 the settlers were driven off by hostile Indians. Under the leadership of John Jacob Astor, a merchant of New York, the Pacific Fur Company was formed. On the south side of the Columbia, ten miles from its mouth, it established in 1811 a fur station named Astoria.

tains at the 49th parallel. Beyond the Rockies the line was unsettled, but at the mouth of the Columbia, England claimed equal rights with the United States. However, to this equality of rights Americans refused to agree. Leaving the boundary as stated, the 49th parallel at the Rocky Mountains, it was agreed that the whole Oregon country was to be "free and open for the term of ten years" to the subjects of both powers (map, page 280). In 1826, it was agreed that the joint occupation was to continue indefinitely, but either party could put an end to this arrangement by serving on the other a notice of twelve months. The Oregon region was coming more and more into the hands of the British Hudson Bay Company. President Jackson seemed



ON THE WAY TO OREGON

indifferent to distant Oregon, but his friend, Senator Thomas H. Benton, had not overlooked its importance and never rested till the possessions of the United States extended to the Pacific.

American Settlers. — In 1837 American settlers commenced to enter Oregon and by 1842 there set in a great stream of immigration. Much information about Oregon and the routes to it was obtained by John C. Frémont, the

son-in-law of Senator Benton, who made several perilous journeys into and beyond the Rocky Mountains. In Congress there were heated debates in which some members, like Benton, were prepared to go to even the length of war in order to secure Oregon. Calhoun saw clearly that American migration would in time win the territory for the United States without the risk of war with England. During the summer of 1843 hundreds of wagons and no fewer than 3000 American settlers entered the Oregon country. A few fur traders and some missionaries were already established there.

The Oregon Question Settled. — The Democratic party, in the election of 1844, took for its watchword, "Fifty-four forty or fight." As 54° 40′ is the southern boundary of Alaska, Great Britain would have been excluded from the Pacific by the Democratic claim. Congress gave President Polk authority to serve upon England the notice required to end the joint occupation. The dispute was finally settled June 15, 1846, by a treaty fixing the northern boundary of the United States at the 49th parallel and the Strait of Juan de Fuca (foo'cah). Owing to the great influence of the Hudson Bay Company, Vancouver Island was lost to the United States (map, page 330).

The Wild Summer of 1844. — It was in 1844 that Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, asked the school board to allow Catholic children to use the Catholic version of the Bible. Many were induced to believe that Catholics wished to prevent Protestant pupils from reading their own Bible. In American Protestant opinion, during this period of anti-Catholic feeling (page 306), any Catholic was sufficiently bad, but the Irish were odious. In a Native American meeting violent language was used against the members of that persecuted race. At night their houses were stoned and burned. A few attempted to defend their homes and

thus some members of the mob were slain. Then was raised the cry, "To the nunnery!" At once a rush was made for a little community of Sisters of Charity, but a volley from its defenders drove the fanatics away for the moment.

On the next day, after the burning of twenty-nine dwellings of Irish Catholics, a church and parochial residence were set on fire. The firemen declined to serve, and the militia were mute. At another place the mayor, who came out to plead for order, was brutally silenced by a missile which knocked him senseless. The police were dispersed. Amid the shouts of a frenzied mob St. Augustine's Church also was devoted to the flames. When its blazing cross fell, there went up a mighty roar. The house of the Sisters did not escape a second time. The heroines of the cholera scourge were bereft of home.

In this emergency Bishop Kenrick was compelled to suspend the exercises of public worship in the remaining Catholic churches. A grand jury called to inquire into the riots falsely ascribed them to "the efforts of a portion of the community to exclude the Bible from public schools." Those guilty of theft, arson, and murder were mentioned as "unoffending citizens." Though some ministers fanned the flames of hate, the more respectable Protestants of Philadelphia were ashamed of the atrocities.

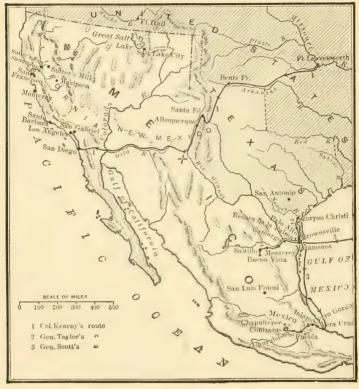
Causes of War with Mexico. — Since their annexation to the United States, both Texas and California have become the homes of millions of contented people. In a word, all the Southwest is now the abode of prosperity. On the other hand, lean famine has often stalked throughout the lands beyond the Rio Grande. No friend of humanity, then, can regret that in 1848 California was annexed to the United States. Though the method of doing it may be criticized, yet the story must be told.

John Quincy Adams said it was not only Texas that the United States wanted, but the whole course of the Rio Grande and five degrees of latitude across the continent to the Pacific. The historian Hubert Howe Bancroft says that the war with Mexico was a premeditated scheme to rob that struggling republic of a slice of her territory to satisfy the slave party in the United States. Finally, it should be added that Americans wished it to appear that Mexico was the aggressor.¹

First Aggressions. — The boundary between Mexico and Texas was in dispute; Texas claimed to the Rio Grande, Mexico to the Nueces River. On January 13, 1846, General Taylor was ordered to advance and post himself near the east bank of the Rio Grande; he was to respect personal rights and refrain from interfering in matters of religion. He arrived opposite Matamoras on March 28 and began to strengthen his position. A Mexican army of 5000 watched his movements. On April 24 General Arista informed Taylor that hostilities were regarded as having commenced. On the next day a force of sixty-three American dragoons was killed or captured. When these tidings were received in Washington, President Polk sent to Congress a special message in which he said: "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States; has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil."

¹ Mexico was indebted to the United States to the extent of about three million dollars, but the claims presented amounted to nearly twelve millions. On August 17, 1840, there met in the city of Washington a commission made up of Americans and Mexicans to inquire into the justice of the claims submitted. The umpire was the Baron de Roenne, Prussian minister to the United States. Of all the claims presented, less than one fifth were allowed; three fourths were thrown out as fraudulent; others of the same spurious character, amounting to \$3,500,000, did not come before the commission in time for examination. The amounts awarded by the commission Mexico was paying in installments until the annexation of Texas, when the payments immediately ceased.

Congress authorized the enlistment of 50,000 volunteers for twelve months and placed at the President's disposal \$10,000,000. When war began, the Whigs voted men and money to support their country. But they had tried to



MEXICAN WAR

prevent it, and in the "Spot Resolutions" Abraham Lincoln ridiculed the President's proclamation. On May 13, 1846, war was declared.

Campaign on the Rio Grande. — On the 8th of May, General Taylor met and defeated the Mexican forces at

Palo Alto (pah'lo ahl'tō). On the following day, in the dry river bed of the Palm, Resaca de la Palma (rā-sah'cah dā lah pahl'mah), Taylor won another victory. In the two battles he lost forty-three in killed and one hundred twenty-five wounded. Afterward the Mexican commander crossed the Rio Grande with his hungry and thirsty soldiers.

Taylor Invades Mexico. — On May 18, 1846, General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande and occupied Matamoras. From the Rio Grande to the city of Mexico is a distance of 1000 miles, a line too long to be defended. With Saltillo as his objective point the American commander began the conquest of the north Mexican states. In a little while the Mexican army began to enter and fortify Monterey.

Siege of Monterey. — In his assault on the town of Monterey, Taylor's force was three times repulsed. Breaking through from house to house the Americans advanced toward the great plaza. But at that point the enemy sent in a flag of truce. On September 28, 1846, the last Mexican brigade marched out of Monterey. By the officials in Washington, Taylor was criticized for his generous terms to a gallant foe. Probably he could have forced the surrender of the citadel, but it would have been costly, for he had already lost 500 men. The resistance of the Mexicans convinced Taylor that it would not be prudent to undertake an advance to their distant capital. Therefore he recommended that the attempt on the city of Mexico be made from Vera Cruz.

Buena Vista. — In November, General Taylor marched to Saltillo. About that time General Scott arrived in Matamoras and took away General Worth and many of Taylor's best men for the campaign from Vera Cruz. In their weakened condition this looked like a good opportunity to destroy the Americans. Though Taylor's scouting parties were taken, it was nevertheless learned that the

Mexicans were advancing in overwhelming numbers. To meet them with his diminished army the American commander took up his position at Buena Vista (bwā'nah vēs'tah). A spirited attack, begun on February 22, 1847, greatly favored the Mexicans, but the arrival of General Taylor saved his army. The American militia had fled, though later they re-formed and assisted in repulsing a fierce cavalry charge. By the night of the 23d the armies occupied the same position as at the beginning of the battle. Taylor made plans for a third day's battle, but the Mexicans retired. For many a mile dead, dying, and starving men marked Santa Anna's line of retreat. This was the end of the campaign on the Rio Grande.

Campaign from Vera Cruz. — Early in March, 1847, General Winfield Scott assembled near Vera Cruz about 12,000 men. Revolts in the interior left that city almost defenseless. On the 29th, the Mexican garrison marched out with the honors of war, upon which the Americans took possession.

Santa Anna by forced marches came down from the north, raised an army, and posted himself at the pass of Cerro Gordo. But the Americans pushed through, and entered Puebla May 15.

After a long wait at Puebla, until reënforcements had reached him, General Scott resumed his advance on the City of Mexico. On August 20 at Churubusco occurred some bloody fighting. Finally the Mexicans fled. In the pursuit Captain Philip Kearney pushed on to the gates of Mexico city, where he lost an arm. In five battles around the capital, Scott estimated the enemy's loss at 4000 killed and wounded and 3000 prisoners.

On September 7 and 8 hostilities were resumed by bloody fighting at Molino del Rey (mo-lē'no del rā'ee), the advantage being with the Americans. This was the most

desperate battle of the war. At daybreak on the 13th was begun the storming of Chapultepec'. In defending this castle Mexican cadets of fourteen years shared the horrors of war with the coolness of men. With its capture the American army entered the city of Mexico. Firing from housetops led to the adoption of severe measures by General Scott. On the 17th he declared martial law. In February, 1848, General Scott was relieved of his command. Neither Scott nor Taylor enjoyed the confidence of the Democratic President, for both were Whigs.

New Mexico. — Between St. Louis in Missouri and Santa Fé in New Mexico there had sprung up a trade valued at one or two millions of dollars. Though Santa Fé had been

settled more than two hundred vears before Anglo-Americans entered Texas, yet the Texans claimed it as part of their state. When the war began Colonel Stephen W. Kearny was sent with a regiment of dragoons to protect the traders, to take Santa Fé, and operate against northern Mexico. Later he was directed to assist the American fleet on the coast of California. New Mexico was taken without resistance, and Colonel Doniphan was directed to remain with a force in the conquered province.



FRÉMONT THE EXPLORER

Conquest of California. — John C. Frémont has already been mentioned as an explorer. Before the outbreak of the war with Mexico, which he knew would occur, he had taken an armed force of sixty marksmen to assist in his explora-When the Mexican governor ordered him to leave California, Frémont refused, and occupied a strong place. which he fortified. Later he met one Ide, who had headed a revolt against Mexico and had assisted in founding the "Bear Flag Republic." This party Frémont agreed to support. By July 6 the expected tidings had reached him of war between the United States and Mexico: also information that Commodore Sloat, of the Navy, had taken the port of Monterey in California. The American flag had been hoisted and California proclaimed a part of the territory of the United States. When Admiral Stockton arrived on the coast, he took Frémont into the service of the United States, giving him the rank of Major. The government of the "Bear Flag Republic" was also accepted into the American service.

In an outbreak much of the work of Frémont was undone. When his situation became dangerous, Colonel Kearny's forces restored American supremacy and in January, 1847, that officer marched his forces into San Diego (dē-ā'go). The conquest of California was complete.

Terms of Peace. — Nicholas P. Trist, an employee of the State Department, had gone to Mexico and, though stripped of his authority, made a treaty which with some changes was satisfactory to the government of the United States. President Polk proclaimed peace June 19, 1848.

By this treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the war, the United States agreed to give up the conquered forts and withdraw her army from Mexico. She was also to assume the debts of Mexico to American citizens, the amount not to exceed \$3,500,000. Further she was to pay Mexico \$15,000,000, and in return was to receive the region now included in California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming. The Rio

Grande was accepted as the boundary between Texas and Mexico (map, page 330). 1

The Wilmot Proviso. — In the course of the war, in August, 1846, David Wilmot, a Representative from Pennsylvania, introduced into Congress an amendment to an appropriation bill which provided that in any territory which might be acquired from Mexico "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist." This Wilmot Proviso, as it is called, became the center of interest in Congress as well as outside. Though it passed the House, it did not become a law, for it failed to pass the Senate. It did, however, greatly inflame public feeling on the disturbing question of slavery. Wilmot represented the general sentiment at the North.

The Election of 1848. — Before President Polk had proclaimed peace, political parties had already named their candidates. The Democratic convention nominated Lewis Cass for President. Its platform asserted that the war was provoked by "years of insult and injury" on the part of Mexico, but it made no mention of slavery. The Whig convention nominated Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, for President and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice President. A convention of the Free-Soil party nominated Ex-President Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, a son of John Quincy Adams. Though they did not purpose to interfere with slavery within the limits of any state, they intended by act of Congress to oppose

¹ Five years later President Pierce informed Congress that a dispute had arisen concerning the boundary between Mexico and New Mexico. The recent treaty required our government to keep in order the Indians of the latter territory. These and other questions led to the formation of a new treaty, largely shaped by Christopher Gadsden, by which for \$10,000,000 we acquired in 1854 an area of 45,535 square miles, including the Gila River route desired by the Southern Pacific Railroad so that its entire line could be constructed on American soil. This addition is known as the Gadsden Purchase.

its extension. To the demand for more slave states they answered: "No more slave states and no more slave territory." On their banner they inscribed, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." In New York, Martin Van Buren received more than 120,000 votes, chiefly those of Democrats, thus giving that state and, as it happened, the election to the Whig candidates. March 4th having fallen on Sunday, Taylor and Fillmore were inaugurated March 5, 1849.

The California Missions. — It was eighty years before this, -in March, 1768, -that Father Junipero Serra.1 of the Order of Friars Minor, embarked rom Mexico with some companions for the little known country of upper California. It had been resolved to found missions at San Diego and Monterey. The natives of that region appear to have been about the most degraded among the races of men. Their conversion to Christianity, therefore, was one of the mightiest tasks ever undertaken by Spain. Great herds of cattle and large quantities of seeds were carried to regions more distant from Mexico than Omaha is from New York. After the party disembarked, the aborigines beheld a strange cavalcade, fearless explorers, armored soldiers, picturesque friars, and uncouth Indians journeying over a fertile country, very different from the sterile peninsula of lower California in which the Jesuits, until their unjust expulsion in 1767, had heroically toiled for the welfare of the natives.

Before long the party of Father Junipero had founded five missions. To their new pastors the dusky lambs looked harmless, but the priest had yet to learn that the superstitions of the Indian oftentimes drove him to frenzy. It was some such unfounded fear that led a thousand red men to destroy the San Diego mission. At first the sur-

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 1}$ He was christened Miguel José, but at his profession chose the name Junipero.

vivors were appalled, but the murder of a missionary was no new experience for the followers of Saint Francis. No doubt they mourned a space, then carefully rebuilt the ruined station, and established new ones, among them, in 1776, San Francisco (Saint Francis). In these missions are to be seen the beginnings of California.

Prosperity of the Missions. — Before the opening of the nineteenth century no fewer than eighteen mission stations were in operation in California. Soon afterward three others were established. Each station had its gardens, its

vineyards, and its fertile fields as well as thousands of sheep, cattle, and horses. Even those travelers who were unfriendly to the friars acknowledge the amazing commercial success of the missions. As a matter of fact, they



SANTA BARBARA MISSION

had grown rich, and their prosperity had marked them out for destruction. In 1821 Mexico had ceased to be a possession of Spain. The officials of the new republic, like the Spanish authorities in 1813, viewed with covetous eyes the fields and flocks of the missions and decided (1833) to make of those fine establishments state property. The burden of contributions laid upon them soon became oppressive. After 1830 the decline of the missions was rapid and by 1840 those unique communities, the glory of early California, were approaching their end. By some of them it had already been reached.

A Poet's Vision. — Material results, and these had largely been dispersed before the coming of Americans,

were the only proofs of achievement that appealed to the Forty-niners. At a later day, however, a keener observer saw things more enduring, and to him more interesting, than the ownership of lands, of herds, or of flocks. Robert Louis Stevenson, during a sojourn at Monterey, visited the ruined mission near by and thus describes what he saw:

"Only one day in the year, the day before our Guy Fawkes, the padre drives over the hill from Monterey; the little sacristy, which is the only covered portion of the church, is filled with seats and decorated for the service; the Indians troop together, their bright dresses contrasting with their dark and melancholy faces; and there, among a crowd of somewhat unsympathetic holiday-makers, you may hear God served with perhaps more touching circumstances than in any other temple under heaven. An Indian, stone-blind and about eighty years of age, conducts the singing; other Indians compose the choir: yet they have the Gregorian music at their finger ends, and pronounce the Latin so correctly that I could follow the meaning as they sang. The pronunciation was odd and nasal, the singing hurried and staccato. 'In saecula saeculo-ho-horum,' they went with a vigorous aspirate to every additional syllable. I have never seen faces more vividly lit up with joy than the faces of these Indian singers. It was to them not only the worship of God, nor an act by which they recalled and commemorated better days, but was besides an exercise of culture, where all they knew of art and letters was united and expressed. And it made a man's heart sorry for the good fathers of yore who had taught them to dig and to reap, to read and to sing, who had given them European mass-books which they still preserve and study in their cottages, and who had now passed away from all authority and influence in that land. . . . "1

Clearly, under the friars, the California Indians had advanced far on the road to civilization, but, like the celebrated Jesuit missions in Paraguay, this scene of Franciscan endeavor has also become "A Vanished Arcadia."²

¹ The Old Pacific Capital, pp. 106-107, in Across the Plains, with Other Memories and Essays; used by courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers.

² The title of an interesting book by Cunninghame Grahame, who describes the success and the decline of the Jesuit missions in Paraguay.

The partly civilized natives, some 30,000 in number, were soon dispersed. The fate of the mission Indians is one of the tragedies of American history. While the friars were contending for justice, Americans began to occupy the country.

Gold Discovered in California. — Captain Johann August Sutter, long settled in California, owned a great tract and had built a fort where Sacramento now stands. He formed a partnership with an American, James Wilson Marshall, to build a sawmill. For its site it was necessary to find a place where timber was convenient to the mill. This he succeeded in doing in Coloma Valley on the American River. Besides directing the work, Marshall was deepening the race by raising the gate and allowing the water to rush through. Afterward in relating the story of his discovery Marshall wrote: "As I was taking my usual walk along the race after shutting off the water, my eye was caught with the glimpse of something shining in the bottom of the ditch. There was about a foot of water running then. I reached down and picked it up; it made my heart thump for I was certain that it was gold. The piece was about half the size and shape of a pea." Presently Marshall found more. With a quantity he hastened to Sutter's fort, where Sutter made a test, and was convinced that it was really gold.

When the tidings reached the East, multitudes at once started for California. Some went in ships that sailed

¹ The discovery, which was made in January, 1848, Marshall and Sutter decided to keep to themselves. But soldiers and others around the fort in some way gained knowledge of the secret. The tidings traveled fast and far. Before long every one who could get a pan, a shovel, and a hoe was "prospecting." Laborers: left their fields and storekeepers their shops: soldiers attempted to desert from the United States army and sailors abandoned their ships as soon as they got on shore. By hundreds and by thousands, from all quarters of the globe, men streamed toward Sutter's mill. I few of the more fortunate got, in a few days, five, ten, and even fifteen thousand dollars.

around Cape Horn; others took passage for Aspinwall (Colon) and on foot crossed the Isthmus to Panama. Many made the overland journey across the plains. From Independence, Missouri, they traveled by way of the Platte River, over the South Pass to Salt Lake City, and, as soon as the weather would permit, thence to "the diggings." By August, 1849, about 80,000 gold hunters, "forty-niners," as they came to be called, had survived the dangers of the journey and reached the mines.

The State of California. — As Mexican officials were for the most part unheeded, and as Congress had provided no civil government, there existed in the conquered territory only military authority. There were no land laws, while mining titles were disputed and oftentimes fought for. In that situation, bordering upon anarchy, the people held a convention, made and adopted a free-state constitution,² and applied for admission as a state.

At this time the Union consisted of thirty states, fifteen slaveholding and fifteen free. After Missouri, the new states were Arkansas (slave, 1836), Michigan (free, 1837), Florida (slave, 1845), Texas (slave, 1845), Iowa (free, 1846), and Wisconsin (free, 1848). Should Congress admit California, it would give the free states a majority in the Senate, as it already had a majority in the House of Representatives, because of their greater population.

The Issue. — Every Northern legislature, except that of Iowa, passed resolutions to the effect that it was the duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. At the same time many states requested their Congressmen to abolish both slavery and the slave trade in the District of

¹ In after years the skeletons of horses and the wrecks of wagons often gave notice of some lonely grave. Thousands had died on the plains. Whole companies, such as the Donner party, consisting of forty members, perished ere they reached the realms of gold.

² By a free-state constitution is meant one which excluded slavery.



Forty-niners panning for gold in California



Columbia. Northern people generally approved Clay's plan of gradual emancipation. These were the sentiments of public meetings and of newspapers in the North.

For a convention of Southern members of Congress, Calhoun drew up an address which complained of the difficulty of recovering fugitive slaves and of the agitation kept up by Abolitionists. It demanded the right of Southern people to take their slaves into the territories. These sentiments were supported by conventions and by state legislatures. At a dinner given to Senator Butler one of the toasts was "A Southern Confederacy."

In December, 1849, the California legislature elected two United States Senators, John C. Frémont, an antislavery man, and William Gwin, a proslavery man. When Congress met, there began at once a bitter sectional fight. Though there was much bluster, it is certain that until Henry Clay suggested a compromise the Union was in danger. Twice before, in 1820 and again in 1833 (pages 281, 289), he had powerfully assisted in its preservation. Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun, who were still in the Senate, ably supported his plans.

The Compromise Measures of 1850.— To please the North, Clay proposed (1) that California should be admitted into the Union as a free state, and (2) that the slave trade (the buying and selling of slaves) should be abolished in the District of Columbia. To please the South it was proposed (3) that Congress should pass a more stringent law for the return of fugitive slaves, and (4) that two territories, New Mexico and Utah, be formed from a portion of the Mexican purchase, with the understanding that their inhabitants should decide whether they should be free soil or open to slavery. Clay also proposed (5) that Texas give up her claim to the upper Rio Grande Valley — part of New Mexico — and that she be paid for so doing. She was



afterward promised \$10,000,000.1 Together these measures were called the Compromise of 1850 and were intended to last forever. President Taylor, who was opposed to some of them, referred to the first draft of the Compromise as the "Omnibus Bill."

Death of Taylor. — On the Fourth of July, 1850, exercises were held near the Washington monument at the national capital. Though the President did not make the principal address, he was long exposed to the rays of a scorching sun. Later he showed symptoms of typhoid fever, of which he died on the 9th. Fillmore took the oath of office and served the remainder of the term. He signed all the bills composing the Compromise of 1850.

Fugitive Slave Law. — The part of the compromise in which the South was chiefly interested was the Fugitive Slave Law. Of the right of Southern states to get back their runaway slaves there is no doubt, for a law on the subject had been passed in 1793, while Washington was President, and while many of the framers of the Constitution still lived. However, the stricter law of 1850 had several offensive provisions:

- (1) The sworn statement of the owner was not required to prove the identity of the slave. That could be shown by the affidavit of an attorney or an agent. Moreover, the runaway could not testify in his own behalf.
- (2) If the negro was given to the planter or the agent who claimed him, the magistrate or the commissioner hearing the case received a fee of ten dollars. If, on the other hand, the commissioner decided in favor of the negro, he received only five dollars.
- (3) All citizens, when called upon, were expected to assist in enforcing this law. But for interfering with its

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ The payment of instalments continued to be made until Texas passed an ordinance of secession.

execution or for assisting in the escape of a fugitive a fine of a thousand dollars and imprisonment could be imposed.

(4) The law applied to fugitive slaves no matter how long ago they had run away.

Except in the matter of the new fugitive slave law the Compromise was fair to the North. But in that section Abolitionists, Free-Soilers, and other antislavery persons denounced it. Tired of the agitation, however, the North



A FUGITIVE SLAVE 1

generally supported the policy of Congress. The South generally was satisfied with the compromise, though in South Carolina the Southern Rights Association, in May, 1851, held in Charleston a convention that declared in favor of secession from the Union, with or without the assistance of other Southern states.

Enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. — Southern members of Congress complained that the enforcement of the act for re-

covering runaway slaves left much to be desired. Two Boston negroes, they said, had been spirited away to England. Planters who went to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in pursuit of negroes were arrested for causing a riot. After the lapse of six months and the outlay of \$1450, they got their slaves. In Detroit it was necessary to call out the militia to disperse a mob assembled to prevent the recovery of a runaway. In February, 1851, a colored mob broke into a room of the United States Court in Boston, set one Saadrach free, and sent him off to Canada. At Christiana,

¹ A cut used in newspaper advertisements.

Pennsylvania, Gorsuch, a Maryland planter, was killed and his son wounded while attempting to take back with them some negroes who had escaped a few years before. In Syracuse, New York, Jerry McHenry was rescued, concealed, and sent to Canada, some of the leading citizens assisting in his escape.

Uncle Tom's Cabin. — The excitement caused by the debates on the Compromise Measures had scarcely passed away when, in 1852, appeared Uncle Tom's Cabin, a remarkable book written by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the daughter of a noted Connecticut clergyman. The story was not a true picture of African slavery in the South, but rather a portrayal of the abuses which were bound up with that institution. In the North there were, perhaps, 15,000 runaway negroes. To recover them there came into existence, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the "man hunter," an odious type. Doubtless of this class many were as mean as Marks and as brutal as Loker in Uncle Tom's Cabin. For the credit of human nature it is to be hoped that no planter ever resembled Simon Legree. but that the character is a mere figment of the brain. But in the North millions devoured the book and believed that there were Haleys who tore infants from their mothers' arms, and Legrees who lashed fidelity and raved at piety. Uncle Tom's Cabin made thousands of Abolitionists.

Election of 1852.—A Democratic convention, which met on June 1, 1852, named Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President. Two weeks later the Whigs assembled in the same city and nominated Winfield Scott, of New Jersey.¹ Except Vermont, Massachusetts, Ken-

¹ In June, 1852, Henry Clay, who had long desired the presidency, died in the city of Washington. The news of his death caused profound grief throughout the nation. Webster, whose friends had striven for his nomination, did not long survive the great "Pacificator," dying at his Marshfield home in September, 1852. Calhoun had died in March, 1850.

tucky, and Tennessee, General Pierce carried every state in the Union, receiving 254 electoral votes to 42 cast for Scott. The Free-Soil vote showed a falling off since 1848. The Whig party never entered another presidential contest, having met its death in the election of 1852. It has been humorously said that it was choked to death in an effort to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — How did Tyler offend the Whigs? What was the Webster-Ashburton Treaty? What caused the war between Texas and Mexico? In what battle did the Texans win their independence? What nations claimed the Oregon country? When did American settlers begin to enter that territory? What occurred during the summer of 1844? What did Americans want from Mexico?

What was the first collision with the Mexicans? What battles and what siege marked the campaign from the Rio Grande? What was the last great battle under Taylor? Who conducted the campaign from Vera Cruz? Name the early battles on the way to Mexico.

What American with an armed party was in California before the war began? By what party was he afterward joined? Who completed the conquest of California? What treaty ended the war with Mexico? Name the principal changes resulting from the war. What was the result of the Presidential election of 1848?

Describe the California missions. How was gold discovered in California? How did people go thither? What was the nature of the dispute between the North and the South? State the provisions of the Compromise of 1850. Describe the new fugitive slave law, and the difficulties in its enforcement. What was the result of the election of 1852?

References. — Robert McN. McElroy, The Winning of the Far West; Right Reverend Thomas O'Gorman, The Catholic Church in the United States; McMaster, A History of the People of the United States; Dellenbaugh, Frémont and Forty-Nine; William Birney, James G. Birney and his Times; Henry Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America.

CHAPTER XXVI

EFFORT TO EXTEND SLAVERY

Brief Repose. — Franklin Pierce was inaugurated March 4, 1853. The result of the election must have convinced him that the antislavery agitation was unpopular, and it may be that he looked forward to a quiet term of office. In this he was disappointed, for in a little while the quarrel

over slavery was again raging. At that time Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, came before the public as an aspirant for the high office of President. In the Senate he was chairman of the Committee on Territories, and their organization was well suited to his ability.

Kansas-Nebraska Act. — In a report made to the Senate, Douglas announced the discovery of a great principle settled by the Compromise of



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

1850, a principle that would in his opinion forever remove the question of slavery from the halls of Congress and leave

¹ The perseverance of proslavery men had brought about the annexation of Texas and the conquest of the Southwest. But the South was still uneasy. Further to protect the institution of slavery she longed for the possession of Cuba. In 1848 President Polk had offered \$100,000,000 for the island, but Spain refused to sell it. When the great powers of Europe were occupied with the Crimean War, three American ministers met at Ostend, in Belgium, whence they issued (1854) a declaration known as the Ostend Manifesto. This paper stated that the possession of Cuba by the United States was necessary to protect slavery: if Spain would not sell it at a fair price, then, by every law, "human and divine," it should be wrested from her. But the United States did not act on this suggestion.

it to those who were directly interested. The bill in its final form created two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, in the vast unoccupied region extending west of Missouri and the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains, north of 36° 30′ (map, page 330). It asserted that the slavery restriction of the Missouri Compromise (page 281) was set aside by the legislation of 1850. Finally it stated the principle of "squatter sovereignty," namely, that the inhabitants of each territory were to decide, at the time of their admission into the Union, whether the state should be free or slave. Though the Free-Soilers, including Salmon P. Chase, William H. Seward, and Charles Sumner, worked hard to defeat the bill, it was passed by Congress and signed by the President in 1854.

Results of the Act. — In the South the act was everywhere accepted by Whigs as well as Democrats. All Whig newspapers at the North denounced it, while the Democratic party and press were divided. Two or three hundred public meetings in that section protested against it, while but five or six meetings supported it.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had the following results: (1) It roused Abraham Lincoln, who was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise gave a bent to his ambition. (2) It made the Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter at the North. (3) It soon led to the formation of a new antislavery party called Republican. (4) It destroyed what was left of the Whig party. (5) It caused the downfall of the Democratic party in the North.

Horace Greeley said that Pierce and Douglas made more Abolitionists in three months than Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, the leading Abolitionist agitators, could in half a century. Douglas declared that it was possible for him to travel from New York to Chicago by the light of his own burning effigies. Three hundred ladies from an Ohio village sent him thirty pieces of silver.

The Struggle for Kansas. - There began between the Free-Soilers and the proslavery men a seven years' struggle for the possession of Kansas. Thinking that the bill would give that territory over to slavery, people from western Missouri at once began to stake out the most desirable land and to make settlements at Atchison, Lecompton, and elsewhere in northeastern Kansas. About July, 1854, many colonists went into the territory from Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana. During the same summer the Emigrant-Aid Society, of which the leading spirit was Eli Thayer, sent its first party from New England. They founded Lawrence, Topeka, Osawatomie, and other places in eastern Kansas. The first parties sent out by the Society went unarmed.

In October, 1854, the people of Missouri organized "Blue Lodges." To them territorial sovereignty meant the right to cross the border into Kansas and in the interest of slavery to vote at elections. Therefore on November 29 there entered that territory 1729 Missourians, who voted for a delegate to Congress. At one of the polls 604 votes were cast, but of these only 20 were legal. At the election of a territorial legislature, March 30, 1855, Missourians to the number of 5000, armed with guns, bowie knives, revolvers, and clubs, and supplied with liberal rations of whisky, marched into Kansas, Senator Atchison leading one of the companies. In this election three fourths of all the votes polled were cast by Missourians, who threatened with death any one that signed a protest.

The South approved all that had been done by the "Border Ruffians." The North was well informed about affairs in Kansas, for the intelligent New England settlers often wrote home, and every letter was read by almost the entire community, after which it was printed in the county newspaper.

The Kansas Free-Soilers.— The leader of the Free-Soilers was Dr. Robinson, who had gained experience during the unsettled times in California. He sent to New England for Sharpe's rifles, which were received at Lawrence in packages marked "books."

The Topeka convention of Free-Soilers framed for Kansas a constitution which prohibited slavery. Under this they set up a state government and asked for admission to the Union. Thus there grew up in Kansas two hostile governments.¹ When the free-state legislature attempted to meet at Topeka, its members were dispersed by Colonel Sumner, who was acting under the orders of President Pierce. In a word, the authorities in Washington were in favor of the proslavery party in Kansas.² The territorial legislature made Kansas a slaveholding territory, and so it remained for several years, until the Free-Soilers, who were largely in the majority, succeeded in carrying the elections. Meanwhile an attempt to admit Kansas as a state under a proslavery constitution — the Lecompton Constitution — was nearly successful.

¹ In the "Wakarusa War," about 1500 armed Missourians encamped near Lawrence, the chief city of the Aid Society. Governor Shannon prevented a conflict, and the Missourians went home.

Emigrants from the free states on their way through Missouri were stopped and turned back, cannon having been placed along the Missouri River to prevent steamboats from ascending. However, many reached Kansas by way of Iowa and Nebraska, but they were relieved of their arms by United States soldiers.

² From the plains of Kansas the quarrel was taken to the halls of Congress. In May, 1856, Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, in a speech called *The Crime Against Kansas*, attacked with studied severity Senator Atchison, responsible for much of the trouble in that territory, and Senator Butler, who happened to be absent. A few days later, while Sumner sat at his desk after the adjournment of the Senate, Preston Brooks, a kinsman of Butler and a Representative from South Carolina, beat him over the head with a cane, and did not desist until Sumner was unconscious. The assault could not have been more cowardly. On the other hand, Sumner's address was offensive and was designed so to be.

Personal Liberty Bills. — So strong was Northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, that, except two, all the free states passed laws making it difficult for an owner to recover a runaway slave. This had the effect of nullifying that law, but the South, by repealing the Missouri Compromise, had already broken the agreement between the sections. The repeal, it is true, was a measure of Senator Douglas, but it was passed by Southern votes.

Northern opposition was also shown by the general sympathy with the Underground Railroad. This was not a railway, but rather a system of routes over which negroes could be carried from point to point until in safety they could be sent to Canada. Arriving past midnight at the home of an agent of the system, the fugitive was fed and later, concealed under bags or hay, was taken farther on.

Political Parties in 1856. — In February, 1856, an "American" or "Know-Nothing" convention met in Philadelphia. Their organization had the grips, passwords, and other incidents of a secret society. After a profession of holiness their platform declared that "Americans must rule America," a broad principle narrowed by the provision that "No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, . . . " This was intended to exclude from office all Catholics, because of their spiritual allegiance to the Pope.¹ The Know-Nothings nominated Ex-President Fillmore for President.

In June, 1856, an organization made up of antislavery men and calling itself the Republican party, met in Philadelphia and nominated John C. Frémont, of California, for

¹ In the present generation there was organized the American Protective Association (A.P.A.), a society equally intolerant. In any era of peace such an organization is likely to spring up.

President. The new party regarded it as "the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."

The Democrats, in their convention, nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, for President. They condemned the aims of the Know-Nothings.

The Election of 1856.—The Republican candidate showed unexpected strength. In one of his early expeditions in the Rocky Mountains, Frémont had cut the sign of the cross on the face of Independence Rock. Writing of the incident he said: "I made on the hard granite the impression of a large cross, which I covered with a black preparation of India-rubber, well calculated to resist the influences of wind and rain. It stands amidst the names of many who have long since found their way to the grave, and for whom the huge rock is a giant grave-stone."

Now that Frémont was a candidate for the presidency, bigotry magnified his reverential act into a crime. Those who have studied his remarkable career believe that the sign of the cross lost him many a vote. This we may believe, for 874,543 ballots were cast for the Know-Nothing candidate. Though Frémont was himself an Episcopalian, his father was a Catholic, as were nearly all his carly scientific friends. He received 114 electoral votes, while Buchanan received 174 and was therefore elected.

Dred Scott Decision. — In his inaugural address, March 4, 1857, President Buchanan said that there would soon be handed down by the United States Supreme Court a decision which would set at rest the vexed question of slavery. The expected opinion was in the case of Dred Scott, a negro slave of Dr. Emerson of the United States army. The master had taken him into Illinois, free soil by the Ordinance of 1787, then to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, which was free soil by the provisions of the Missouri Compromise.

After living several years in free territory Dred Scott returned with his master to Missouri, where he sued for his liberty. Finally he appealed his case to the United States Supreme Court. In delivering its opinion Chief Justice Roger B. Taney declared: (1) that Congress could not exclude slavery from the territories, (2) that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and void, and (3) that persons of African birth or descent could not be citizens of the United States, and therefore could not sue in its courts.¹

The decision in the case of Dred Scott opened to slavery the territories of Minnesota and Oregon, which had hitherto been free soil. The opinion of the Supreme Court did not stop the slavery agitation, but led to a renewal of the strife.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. — As a young man Abraham Lincoln had been a Whig of antislavery sentiments. In 1858 the people of Illinois were to elect members to a legislature which would appoint a United States Senator. The Democrats favored the reëlection of Senator Douglas: the Republicans declared for Lincoln. In an early address Lincoln said that a "house divided against itself cannot stand" and that "this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." This and other statements of Lincoln were noticed by Douglas. Messages were exchanged, and a series of joint debates agreed upon. Because of his undoubted ability Senator Douglas, a man of small stature, was called "the little Giant," but the merciless logic of Lincoln gave him the advantage in their arguments. The subjects discussed were popular or "squatter" sovereignty, the extension of slavery into the territories, and the Dred Scott decision. Though the Republicans lost the Illinois legislature, and Douglas was reëlected Senator, Lincoln became a national character. Because of

¹ Taney laid down what he believed was the law. He had freed his own slaves without compensation.

his masterly addresses the tide of success soon began to turn toward the Republicans.

The John Brown Raid. — Having collected and drilled a company of volunteers, John Brown astonished the country by capturing the village of Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on Sunday evening, October 16, 1859. He placed a



JOHN BROWN PREPARING ARMS FOR NEGROES

guard on the bridge to stop railway trains, arrested people who ventured on the streets, and seized the United States arsenal, which contained 100,000 rifles. His object was to arm the slaves of Virginia and other states. and assist them in winning their freedom by force.

Brown permitted the conductor of a Baltimore and Ohio train to resume his journey. When that official arrived in

¹ John Brown, a descendant of Peter Brown of the first Mayflower company, was born at Torrington, Connecticut, in 1800. While traveling with his father, he had seen a master beat a negro boy of about his own age. This incident is said to have been the beginning of his dislike of slavery. When the fight was hottest in Kansas, his sons residing there asked him to send some rifles, and to be sure that they would be received, he went in person with the guns. Brown's violent conduct in the Kansas struggle displeased his antislavery friends there. Later he went to New England to beg assistance for promoting a project. The Abolitionists generally gave him no encouragement. Nevertheless, from some of them he received the money with which he bought weapons and afterward rented a vacant farm not far from Harper's Ferry.

Washington, he informed the authorities, who at once sent Colonel Robert E. Lee with a small force to restore order. Brown and four followers were captured; ten, including two of his sons, were killed; and seven escaped. The prisoners were taken to jail and afterward indicted under the laws of Virginia. After a fair trial Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859.

The conduct of Brown seemed to prove about all that the South had ever said against the Abolitionists. In the North the less excitable viewed his fate with indifference; some even approved his punishment. But in the opinion of an element, ever growing larger, Brown's conduct had proved him a hero and martyr. His rash attempt, however, greatly weakened Union sentiment at the South.

The Presidential Election of 1860. — When the Democratic convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, in April, 1860, the delegates were unable to agree upon a ticket, so badly divided was the party by the question of slavery in the territories. During a session of ten days nothing was done. The northern wing of the party, in convention at Baltimore, afterward nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President, while the southern delegates, in a convention of their own, named John C. Breckenridge. The Constitutional Union party, largely made up of former Know-Nothings, nominated John Bell for President. The Republicans selected for their standard bearer Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. Older antislavery leaders than Lincoln were Seward, Sumner, and Chase, but they were thought too radical on slavery and could not win the delegates from the border states; hence Lincoln was supported as a safer man.

Speaking day and night, Douglas, when he found the North slipping from his grasp, turned toward the South that he might plead for the Union. He denied the right

of secession, which had been a familiar topic since 1850. But the Southern States, except three, remained loyal to Breckenridge. When the result was known it was found that Lincoln had been elected.¹

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What was the Kansas-Nebraska Act and who was responsible for its passage? Who opposed it? Describe the struggle for Kansas. What were the Personal Liberty Bills? Who was the candidate of the Republican party in 1856?

What decision of the Supreme Court extended slavery? What is said of the Lincoln-Douglas debates? Tell the story of John Brown's raid of Harper's Ferry. What was the result of the presidential election of 1860?

References. — McMaster, A History of the People of the United States; J. Ford Rhodes, A History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to 1877; Schouler, A History of the United States; Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, a History; T. H. McKee, National Conventions and Platforms.

¹ The vote was as follows:

Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
Lincoln 1,866,352	Lincoln
Douglas	Douglas
Breckenridge 847,514	Breckenridge
Bell 587,830	Bell
Number voting	Total303

Lincoln thus had a majority of the electoral votes, though only a plurality of the popular vote.

CHAPTER XXVII

SURVEY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1840 AND 1860

Increase in Population. — By 1860 the number of inhabitants in the United States had increased to more than 31.000,000. Not a little of this growth was due to the tide of immigration which after 1840 had set in toward the shores of America. Owing to a great famine in Ireland and to the existence of hard times and despotic governments in Germany, people arrived yearly by the hundred thousand. The Irish of that era, oppressed by greedy landlords and a tyrannical government, naturally had a standard of living different from that which prevailed in the United States. Moreover, they were for the most part Catholics. The difference of race, customs, and religion would beget antipathy against the newcomers. The Germans, of whom some were Catholies, spoke a tongue unknown to the great majority of Americans. Besides they brought with them many strange customs. This double invasion caused among many natives a fear that American institutions were in danger, and, coupled with religious intolerance, led to the formation of the Know-Nothing party (page 339).

Admission of New States. — It was in 1850 that California was admitted into the Union as a state. Minnesota entered in 1858 and Oregon in 1859. In the year 1860, therefore, the Union consisted of thirty-three states — eighteen free and fifteen slave. There were also five territories — New Mexico, Utah, Washington. Kansas, and Nebraska. (See map, page 354.)¹

¹ In 1861 Kansas was admitted as a state, and three new territories were erected: Dakota, Nevada, and Colorado.

Education. — The beginnings of the public school systems, for there were many different ones, have been described in a former section (page 301). Their improvement, though slow, was certain, and by 1860 there existed in each of the states a fair system of common schools. In favored places they were good. In the matter of free public schools the South was behind. However, there were academies in which parents could pay for the education of their children, and colleges were increasing in number. In addition to the common schools the larger cities of the North had high schools for girls. Normal schools, also, for the training of teachers, had already been established.

Another means of education was the newspaper and the monthly magazine. Some of the greatest of American journalists belong to the decade ending in 1860. Among them may be mentioned James Gordon Bennett, Henry J. Raymond, and Horace Greeley. The editorials in the Herald, the Times, and the Tribune, all of the city of New York, exerted a mighty influence on public opinion. Periodicals like The North American Review, Harper's, the Atlantic, and the Southern Literary Messenger, were publishing much good prose and verse (together with some that was inferior).

Petroleum. — In drilling for salt water, Thomas Kier, a Pittsburgh chemist, found oil in his brine. At first he thought it a nuisance, but later advertised it as a remedy for rheumatism and other diseases. Long before, in 1627, a French missionary had found Indians making precisely the same use of rock oil. They collected the oil from the surface of water in springs or wells. It was applied to cure skin affections and rheumatism, and also used internally. In August, 1859, Edwin L. Drake in western Pennsylvania drilled to the depth of sixty-five feet a well that produced

two thousand barrels of petroleum during the first year. This was the beginning of an industry of the greatest value to all the world. In 1891, the banner year for Pennsylvania

petroleum, the production was 33,000,000 barrels. The oil industry has been established in many parts of the United States.

The Telegraph. — The period between 1840 and 1860 is noted for the number as well as the value of its inventions. Perhaps of the greatest importance was the electric telegraph, the discovery of Samuel F. B. Morse, assisted by Alfred Vail. This is said to have been the labor of seven years. In 1844, with the



AN OIL WELL, PENNSYLVANIA

aid of money voted by Congress, Morse built the first electric telegraph line from Baltimore to Washington. The first message sent over it was, "What hath God wrought!" Two days later, May 27, 1844, when the Democratic convention met in Baltimore and nominated Polk for President (page 312), accounts of the proceedings were telegraphed hourly to the national capital. Further assistance was asked of Congress, but was refused.¹

The Sewing Machine. — In 1846, after twelve years of experiment, Elias Howe made a sewing machine that would work. Hunt, who was earlier in the field, had not succeeded in perfecting his model. A few years passed before Howe's machine began to come into use, but in a short time it was tried in the home and later in the factory. Before 1860

¹ As early as 1842 Morse had laid from Governor's Island, New York harbor, to Manhattan Island a submarine telegraph. Though his cable was rude, it worked satisfactorily until broken by a ship's anchor.

there were six or more other kinds of sewing machines on the market. This invention saves labor, increases output,



HOWE'S SEWING MACHINE

and furnishes employment to hundreds of thousands.

It has been mentioned that the reaper was invented by Cyrus Hall McCormick, of Virginia, in 1831. However, for many years it was in little use. Men still cut their grain with a sickle. Later came the cradle, now used on small or on backward farms. But in time the reaper made its way, and with-

out it farming on a large scale would be impossible. The place of the flail was taken by the threshing machine, at first turned by horse power and then by portable steam engines. The result of these and other improvements was to increase the amount of grain produced and to lessen its price.

Vulcanized Rubber. — Crude rubber is very soft and sticky when warm. After long experiment Goodyear, in 1844, discovered a method of hardening or vulcanizing rubber. Combs, pistol stocks, knife handles, and a multitude of other things are manufactured from hard rubber. If the articles are subjected to the process for a shorter time, they remain soft and flexible. Soft rubber is used as a waterproof covering for overshoes, garden and fire engine hose, automobile tires, and countless other things.

Other Inventions and Discoveries. — During this epoch, 1840 to 1860, a remarkable discovery was made in the science of medicine. It was found that by breathing sulphuric ether during a severe surgical operation one may be made insensible to pain, and yet be restored to consciousness afterwards. The honor of this discovery has been

claimed for Dr. Morton and Dr. Jackson, who used it in 1846. Laughing gas (nitrous oxide) was used still earlier for the same purpose by Dr. Wells, of Hartford.

In 1839 Daguerre (dah-gair') a Frenchman, patented a device for making pictures by the action of light on a prepared copper plate. This was the beginning of photography. Dr. John W. Draper, an American scientist and author, so improved this method, which required an exposure of twenty minutes, that pictures of persons could be taken in a much shorter time. Since then photography has steadily improved.

First World's Fair in America. — In 1853 the nations of the world joined with the United States in an exhibition of products in the Crystal Palace, New York.—Americans then found that their own country would soon lead the world in the invention of labor-saving machinery.—Like every American exposition, of which that was the first, it taught our people many useful lessons and promoted commerce.

Improvement in Transportation. — During this period there was great activity in building railroads and organizing trunk lines. Before this epoch most of the railroads covered only short distances. For example, one had to travel over several independent lines to go from Boston to Albany. But by 1853 they had been united into a single system. In 1857 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad reached St. Louis. Though intercourse between the North and the South was needed to make their people better acquainted, few railroads connected these sections.

By 1860 improved machinery, with coal as fuel, enabled vessels to complete the voyage from New York to Liverpool in twelve days. Better transportation resulted in a better mail service as well as in cheaper postage.

The Atlantic Cable. — Morse had shown that a telegraph line could extend under water as well as through the air.

A few years later, 1847, a telegraph cable, on the bottom of the Hudson, connected New York and Jersey City. These and other facts suggested to Cyrus W. Field the idea of connecting the Old World with the New by means of a submarine cable. Business men of America and England, and a grant of money by Congress, made it possible for him



LAYING THE ATLANTIC CABLE 1

to undertake the task. When three hundred miles of his cable had been laid, it broke. There was a second failure, but finally, in 1858, he succeeded.

During some weeks, in which hundreds of messages were sent, it worked and then ceased. Eight years later (1866), Mr. Field, who was not at all discouraged, laid another cable, which continued to work. Since then several cables have been laid across the Atlantic, and across the Pacific as well. The genius of Cyrus W. Field made neighbors of Europe and America.

In the Orient. — The independence of our country had hardly been acknowledged when (1784) an American trading vessel, the *Empress of China*, cast anchor in the harbor of Canton, one of the great cities of the East. In 1790 President Washington appointed a consul to that port and more than half a century later Caleb Cushing went as commissioner to China. He induced the Chinese Empire to make a treaty with the United States and to open five ports to American trade. The friendly relations thus begun in

¹ The Great Eastern, used in laying this cable, was the largest ship then affoat.

the East were extended in 1854, when Commodore Matthew C. Perry, with a fleet of warships, was sent to Japan. Up to that time, even for purposes of trade, foreigners were not admitted to that country. It was, in fact, a "Hermit Nation." After Perry's visit treaties of friendship and of commerce were made and relations between Japan and the United States became very cordial.

The North and the South Compared. — In commerce and industries, and also in population, the North had grown faster than the South. In 1790 these two sections were about equal in population; but the census of 1860 showed that the free states had twice as many people as the slave states. Therefore, in the important matter of raising men for military service the North was much better off than the South. Another advantage was the possession of mines, furnaces, rolling mills, steel mills, shippards, and factories. So marked was this superiority that the value of Northern manufactures was five times as great as that of Southern manufactures.

On the other hand, the South produced the cotton which was then the chief export of the United States; so important a part did it play in our commerce and manufactures that it was called King Cotton. The Southern people, also, were more used to firearms and to outdoor life than the Northerners; it was therefore expected that they could form armies more quickly. There were in the slave states a number of military schools and many survivors of the war with Mexico, for that was a Southern more than a Northern conflict. Fully persuaded that Northern fanatics were interfering in their domestic affairs, and would continue so to do, Southern leaders resolved to leave the Union and set up a government of their own, a government in which each state should retain its sovereign rights. The fact that the Democratic party had been in power nearly all

the time from 1800 to 1860, and at that moment controlled the government, enabled Southern supporters to disperse the navy to distant stations, thus delaying any preparation of the Federal government for a conflict. By their resignations, also, Southern officers could weaken the United States army in case of war. The election of President Lincoln by antislavery votes, was followed by four months of preparation by Southern leaders. In perfect security they organized a league of cotton states, and when Lincoln was inaugurated, as we shall see, the South was confident that it could maintain its independence.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What streams of immigration flowed into this country from 1840 to 1860, and what effect did they have on Protestant Americans? Tell what is said of the improvement in education. Name the more important inventions and discoveries of this period.

How did the North compare with the South in 1860?

References. — J. Ford Rhodes, A History of the United States; Morse, Abraham Lincoln (American Statesmen); Schouler, A History of the United States; Henry Wilson, Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America; Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, a History.

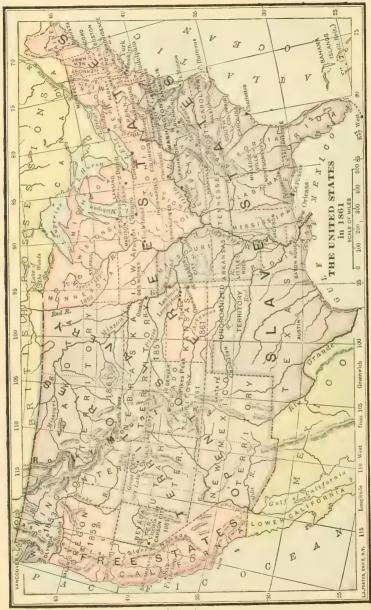
CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CIVIL WAR (1861-1863)

Close of Buchanan's Term. — In the Southern States, as in the North, there were many forts owned by the United States. On December 17, 1860, Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, sent a private message to President Buchanan asking for the surrender of Fort Sumter; for, he stated, it was feared in Charleston that Major Anderson, who commanded, would turn its guns upon the city. The President replied that he had no authority to give to South Carolina property which belonged to the United States, and that he had no legal right to break up the Union.

After midday, December 20, 1860, crowds thronged the streets of Charleston, in which they read placards giving the first notice of secession. In the evening the members of the South Carolina secession convention marched to Institute Hall, where they signed the Ordinance. In closing, the presiding officer announced: "The Ordinance of Secession has been signed and ratified, and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an Independent Commonwealth."

Causes of Secession. — As to the wisdom of secession the delegates had no doubt, but as to the reason for so serious an act there was little agreement. One ascribed it to the election of Lincoln, another to the failure of the North to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, while a third believed that a sufficient cause was the antislavery feeling in the free states. Perhaps a majority of the delegates believed that the doctrine of State's Rights was a satisfactory explanation of what had happened in Charleston. In substance that doctrine was: (1) That on entering the Union



the several states retained their sovereignty. (2) That they granted the federal government only certain definite powers for specific ends. (3) That the federal government was not a sovereign over sovereignties, but an agent between them. (4) That there was no common umpire or arbiter to settle disputes among them. (5) That each state might judge for itself any violation of the common agreement (the Constitution) and choose its own mode of redress. Therefore each state might adhere to the Union or secede from it at its own sovereign will.

Statesmen and historians have differed as to this doctrine. As we have seen, Webster argued convincingly against it in the Senate, and Jackson denounced it in his proclamations.

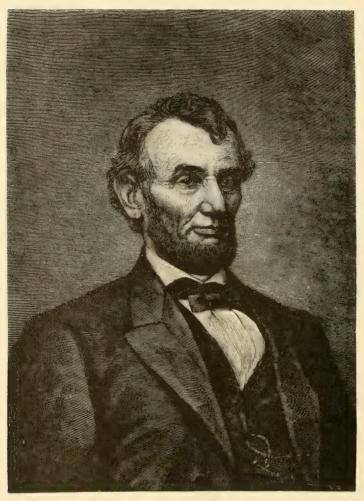
The Confederate States.—Though Buchanan had begged the South not to secede during his term, his appeal was ignored. Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed the example of South Carolina, and on February 4, 1861, a convention of their delegates met at Montgomery, Alabama. They framed a constitution for the Confederate States of America, appointed Jefferson Davis provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens



JEFFERSON DAVIS

provisional Vice President. Later both were elected by the people. Nearly all the forts in the South were seized by the seceding states; but Fort Sumter was still held by Major Anderson.

President Buchanan, in a message to Congress, had said that he had no right to compel a state to come back into the Union. As soon as the Southern members of his Cabinet resigned, Northern men were appointed to their places. Afterward the President took a firmer stand and



PRESIDENT LINCOLN

attempted to send soldiers and supplies to Fort Sumter, but the transport carrying them, the Star of the West, was fired upon by Confederate batteries in Charleston Harbor and forced to return.

Lincoln's Attitude. — In his inaugural address, March 4, 1861, President Lincoln solemnly declared: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

After stating that the Union is older than the Constitution and briefly relating its history, Lincoln continued: "It follows from these views that no state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any state or states, against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary according to circumstances." In regard to

enforcing the laws, he added: "There needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority."

Bombardment of Fort Sumter.—President Lincoln decided to hold Fort Sumter, and to send the necessary supplies for maintaining



CHARLESTON HARBOR

the garrison.¹ On the morning of April 12, 1861, the fire of many Confederate batteries was directed against Fort

¹ The Confederates had been informed by Major Anderson that in one or two days his men would be without provisions and that he would be compelled to abandon the fort. But President Davis refused to wait and ordered General P. G. T. Beauregard, who had a force of 7000 men, to take the place.

Sumter. The little garrison gallantly defended itself for thirty-four hours, but when the walls began to crumble and the wood-work caught fire, Anderson surrendered, Sunday afternoon, April 14. With their tattered flag flying and with drums beating, the garrison marched out and with their commander were allowed to leave for New York. The



A UNION SOLDIER

United States flag was lowered and the stars and bars, of the Confederate States, hoisted in its place.

As Lincoln had foreseen, the firing on Sumter silenced the voice of faction and united the North. Men like Douglas supported the Union. The North believed that the war began upon the question of the right of the United States to defend its authority and its flag. In the Southern view, the war was in defense of Southern rights and for Southern independence.

The Call for Volunteers. — On April 15 Lincoln called for 75,000 militia to serve three months. When the states were asked for their quotas of troops, they were

compelled to take sides. It was this request that led to the secession of Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. By the 8th of June eleven states had joined the Confederacy. When Virginia united with the seceding states, the Confederate capital was moved from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, a point from which it would be easy to attack Washington.

In the free states the pulpit, the platform, and the press called upon the people to defend the Union. The response

was prompt. The North was swept by a mighty wave of patriotism. From farm and shop, mine and foundry. college and bank came eager men. Squads became companies, companies grew to regiments, and regiments swelled to armies. In hamlet, town, and city was heard the roll of drums and the tread of marching men.1

The Confederate government, on the other hand, had made provision for raising troops, organizing a navy, borrowing money, and sending commissioners to Europe to form treaties of commerce and friendship. Instead of reporting to the Postmaster-General at Washington the postmasters in the seceding states recognized a similar official in Richmond. In the South, Lincoln's call for troops was regarded as a declaration of war, and the people of that section rose as one man to repel the invaders. By April 29 there were 25,000 Confederates under arms. Because of the troops assembling in Virginia, the President and others were alarmed for the safety A CONFEDERATE SOLDIER of Washington, which, by the action of Baltimore officials.

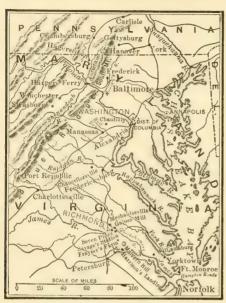


had for a time been cut off from the North.2

¹ The President issued a second call and in ten weeks from the firing on Sumter more than 180,000 volunteers were under arms. Two days after the first call the Sixth Massachusetts passed through New York on its way to Washington. While marching through Baltimore that regiment was attacked by a mob of Confederate sympathizers. In the disturbance four soldiers and nine citizens were killed and many wounded.

² Four border slave states — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, remained in the Union, but were divided in sympathy between North and South. Kentucky for a time maintained neutrality. In Missouri Francis P. Blair, Jr., went to the support of the Union General, Nathaniel

Bull Run. — Confederate troops under Beauregard occupied a line less than forty miles from Washington. The



WAR IN THE EAST, 1861-1863

United States army was commanded by General Winfield Scott, who was believed to be too old for active work in the field. Like a veteran soldier, Scott was making careful preparations, when General Irwin McDowell was ordered to push back the Confederate line in the direction of Richmond. At the battle of Bull Run (or Manassas), July 21, 1861, the advantage at first was with the Union forces, but later

the Confederates were joined by troops from the Shenandoah Valley, who had been under General Joseph E. Johnston. Disorder in the Southern ranks was promptly checked;

Lyon. On the other hand, the friends of the South in Missouri flocked to the standard of General Price, opposed everything attempted by Lyon, and forced a civil war. On June 17, 1861, Lyon's men dispersed a Confederate force at Boonville, but it reassembled later and repulsed a Union attack under General Sigel. Soon after, Price received from Arkansas reënforcements which brought his army up to 10,000. With little more than half that number General Lyon attacked him at Wilson's Creek, in southern Missouri, where the Union general was killed and his army defeated. After this reverse Frémont and Hunter, Union generals, were appointed to the command of an army that had grown large. But neither was given an opportunity to accomplish anything. Halleck succeeded to the command and sent forward General Curtis, before whom Price withdrew into Arkansas.

the army of McDowell began to retreat and later fled in panic from the field.

On the Southern side Beauregard had been ably assisted by General Thomas J. Jackson, who then began one of the most remarkable of military careers and because of the firmness of his men was nicknamed "Stonewall." Jefferson Davis, in addressing the soldiers after the battle, told them that enough had been done for glory. This checked pursuit of the Federal army, and, perhaps, saved Washington from capture.

McClellan in Command. — The lesson learned from the defeat at Bull Run was that the South was prepared and was very much in earnest; also that untrained men could never save the Union. McClellan ¹ was now made commander of the Army of the Potomac. He came to Washington after the defeat at Bull Run and spent the remaining months of summer, the following winter, and the early spring of 1862 in turning untrained volunteers into soldiers.

WAR IN THE EAST; PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

McClellan's plan was to take Richmond by marching up the peninsula between the York and James rivers. To this end, in April, 1862, he transported upwards of 100,000 troops to Fort Monroe. Another army of 40,000 men under General McDowell was kept for the defense of Washington. Deceived as to the strength of the enemy, McClellan wasted a month. His adversary retired and fought a battle at Williamsburg, May 5, 1862; then continued his retreat toward Richmond, closely pursued by the Union army.

¹ General George B. McClellan sent into western Virginia a force which on June 3 routed the Confederates at Philippi. After taking command in person, by victories at Rich Mountain and other points he swept the Confederates out of that part of the state. These successes saved for the Union a large part of the great state of Virginia.

"Stonewall" Jackson. Lincoln was about to send McDowell forward to assist McClellan, when the Confederates prevented it by a bold stroke. They sent "Stonewall" Jackson with 17,000 men into the Shenandoah Valley to threaten Washington from the West. In the short space of thirty-five days Jackson marched 245 miles, fought and won four battles, captured many prisoners and vast supply trains, and so alarmed Lincoln that McDowell's force was held near Washington. Then Jackson marched back to the defense of Richmond.

Seven Pines. — On May 31, 1862, General Joseph E. Johnston attacked and defeated a part of the Union army at Seven Pines; but on the arrival of Federal reënforcements the tide of battle turned against him and he was driven back to his original position. As Johnston was wounded, Robert E. Lee, on June 1, 1862, became commander of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The Seven Days' Fight. — Besieged by a larger army, Lee decided to attack McClellan's right. Jackson arrived north of Richmond on June 26. Joined by other divisions, he fought a battle at Mechanicsville, in which the Union General Porter at first held his own. Being outnumbered, however, Porter retired at night to Gaines Mill, where on the 27th he fought all day against a large part of the Confederate army led by capable commanders. Finally he was driven across the Chickahominy River.

¹ The good roads of the Shenandoah would soon bring him to Harper's Ferry, sixty miles from Washington and only seventy-five from Baltimore. His movements were watched by Banks, Frémont, and Milroy, whose aggregate forces outnumbered his nearly three to one. By brilliant strategy, however, he crushed Milroy, whose army was small; he then fell upon and frightened Frémont, whose army was almost as large as his own; and when Banks was weakened, Jackson struck his force and sent him in retreat toward and even beyond the Potomac. The authorities in Washington endeavored so to dispose the Union armies as to set a trap for Jackson, but that able commander slipped into Strasburg, and when attacked by Shields and Frémont defeated them in two spirited battles.

At this point, by changing his base of supplies to the James River, McClellan outwitted Lee. On June 29 the Union army held its own in a severe battle at Savage's Station, and on the 30th in one still more desperate at

Frayser's Farm (Glendale). By July 1, McClellan had arrived at the James River. At Malvern Hill he selected a strong position, but Lee, thinking the Union army demoralized, ordered an assault and was badly defeated. The Confederate commander was deceived as to the condition of the Federal army and underestimated McClellan's ability. However, Lee had driven McClellan away from Richmond, so that the main result of the Seven Days' Fight



GENERAL ROBERT E. LED

was favorable to the South. McClellan's army was not demoralized, but its commander asked for reënforcements, which were refused. He had lost the confidence of his government. President Lincoln, who had always treated him with the greatest kindness, ordered him to return with his army into northern Virginia.¹

The Second Bull Run. — General Halleck had been called from the West, where his subordinates had gained victories. He was appointed commander of all the Union armies and acted as military adviser to Lincoln, and to Stanton, the new Secretary of War. General Pope also (page 370) came from

¹ In his movements McClellan was slow but safe. His trained eye enabled him to select suitable positions and when attacked to give a good account of himself. In politics McClellan was a Democrat and therefore not a favorite of Congress, which was almost entirely Republican.

the West to organize a force for the defense of the capital. McClellan was meanwhile transporting his troops back to Washington and sending them to join Pope. This operation Lee knew would require about two weeks. Jackson, who was once more smashing the little armies in the Shenandoah, was ordered to join his chief. Jackson's part was to cut Pope's communications with Washington. By taking his army beyond a range of hills he concealed his movements, and marched rapidly eastward by night, getting behind Pope, whose supplies he seized, managing meanwhile to keep out of Pope's way until joined by Longstreet. When he knew that assistance was coming, he posted himself, August 29, two miles from the old Bull Run battle ground. There he attacked Pope, but an all-day fight left the positions of the combatants little changed. At night Pope withdrew. On August 30, however, he resumed the battle, was driven across the Bull Run, and pursued toward Washington. A stand was made at Chantilly, on September 1, where the pursuers were defeated. In this battle the gallant General Philip Kearney lost his life.

Invasions of the North

Antietam. — Beginning with April 14, 1861, the Southern armies had gained a succession of victories. This fact so raised the confidence of Lee that he resolved to invade the North. He crossed the Potomac above Washington, and by September 7 had taken his entire army of about 60,000 men into Maryland, where he expected to be joined by Southern sympathizers. Jackson was sent with a strong force to capture the Union garrison at Harper's Ferry. Marching with his usual swiftness he surrounded the place and took 11,000 prisoners. On the 15th he rejoined Lee. Meanwhile McClellan, again in command, collected every

available soldier and by September 12 reached Frederick, Marvland.

Lee had taken up a strong position along Antietam Creek, where on September 16 and 17, 1862, was fought the first

great battle in the East, perhaps the deadliest of the whole war. Two days later the Confederate forces, checked in their invasion, recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. For failing to follow the army of Lee with sufficient energy, McClellan was removed from his command, which was given to General Burnside.

Fredericksburg. — Burnside obeyed the President's order to lead the Army GENERAL GEORGE B. of the Potomac. By a rapid movement



MCCLELLAN

he attempted to cross the Rappahannock and occupy the heights behind Fredericksburg. His pontoons were not ready, however, and when he was able to cross the river Longstreet was in possession of the hills, while Jackson, always arriving at critical moments, was approaching rapidly. On December 13, 1862, General Franklin attacked and pierced Jackson's line, but not having sufficient support was finally driven back with heavy loss. Sumner attempted to dislodge Longstreet, who held a strong position on Marve's Heights. Six violent attacks were repulsed with slaughter. Burnside would not listen to the advice of even his ablest officers, and the charges continued until 8000 men lay on the hillside. His total loss, in killed, wounded, and captured was more than 12,000, while Lee's

¹ Distinguished among the brave men who made these desperate dashes were the members of the Irish Brigade, commanded by General Thomas Francis Meagher, an eloquent orator and gallant officer. Irish soldiers have won renown on many a bloody field, but never, from Clontarf to Fontenoy and from Badajos (bah-dah-hōs') to Waterloo, did they surpass the glorious deeds of that December day.

loss was less than half that number (5377). The Washington authorities now looked for a new commander, and in January, 1863, bestowed the honor upon General Joseph Hooker.

Chancellorsville. — Active recruiting had brought Hooker's army up to 130,000 men. To meet him Lee had only 60,000 men, but his soldiers were in high spirits after Fredericksburg and had boundless confidence in their commander as well as in Jackson, his brilliant subordinate. Hooker crossed the Rappahannock both above and below Lee's army, but then faltered and took up a position of defense. On May 2 the Confederates feigned attack after attack, while Jackson was rapidly marching to charge at an unexpected point. He routed one corps and demoralized another, but in the twilight was mortally wounded by a volley from his own men and died soon after. His loss to the South could not be made up. The Confederates won no victories afterward, so great as those in which he took part. On May 3 the battle was renewed. Hooker was stunned by a cannon ball that struck a pillar against which he was leaning, and for some hours his army was left without a leader. On May 4 there was further fighting, but the Union forces were everywhere defeated. In three days of desperate battle the Northern loss was over 17,000, the Southern more than 12,000. This was the last great Confederate victory in the East. It completely effaced the memory of Antietam and encouraged Lee to undertake his second invasion of the North.

Lee's Plan. — The Republican party was defeated in most of the elections of 1862, showing that the North had become weary of war. There was hardly a hamlet in the free states without its widows and orphans. Lee believed that under these conditions a crushing defeat would compel the Federal government to make peace.

Gettysburg. — Lee found little difficulty in sweeping the Union forces from the Shenandoah Valley. On June 15 he crossed the Potomac, and marched thence to Hagerstown, Maryland. By June 26 his fine army of 80,000 was on the soil of Maryland. At Hanover, Pennsylvania, the famous cavalry leader, General J. E. B. Stuart, had a sharp brush with a troop of Union horse. Some of Lee's divisions were at York and some were at Carlisle. Not being in harmony with Halleck, who was still embarrassing Union

commanders, General Hooker proposed to resign. His offer was accepted and on June 27 his command was given to General George Gordon Meade, who entered Pennsylvania three days later. At Gettysburg part of his army was attacked on July 1, 1863. In the fighting of that day the advantage was with Lee; but Meade brought up the rest of his army and quickly occupied



BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

a good defensive position. On July 2 Meade, after severe fighting, was forced back a little, but on the advice of his officers resolved to fight to a finish and anticipated an attack on his center the following day.

Early in the afternoon of July 3, Lee's army began a furious cannonade. When it had ceased, the division of Pickett, supported by Hill, in all nearly 16,000 men, made a desperate charge on the Union center commanded by General Winfield Scott Hancock. With great gaps in their ranks, Lee's veterans moved forward as if on parade. But

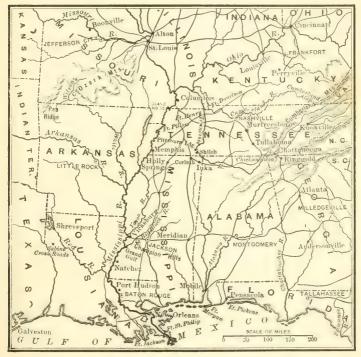
cannon and rifle were doing fatal work. Hancock directed an attack on the flanks of the advancing column, but it pushed back his infantry and was only stopped when it reached a second line. Few of those brave men survived the awful fire that swept the plain on their return. With his army badly shattered. Lee turned southward on July 5. In killed, wounded, and missing he had lost probably 28.000 in the fighting of three days. The Union loss was about 23,000. The greatest battle of the war had been fought, and won by the Union army. The brave men who withstood the storm at Antietam and Fredericksburg at last had fallen to the command of a successful general. The Confederate commander withdrew leisurely into Virginia, whither he was followed no less leisurely by General Meade. The second invasion of the North was at an end: the confidence of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia was shaken.

WAR IN THE WEST (1862-1863); OPENING THE MISSISSIPPI

New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. — In April, 1862, a small army under General Benjamin F. Butler and a fleet under Commodore David G. Farragut appeared at the mouth of the Mississippi. The city of New Orleans was defended by Forts Jackson and St. Philip, by heavy chains stretched across the Mississippi, and by a fleet. After an attack of six days Farragut ran past the forts, broke the chain and defeated the ships. On April 25, 1862, a garrison under Butler occupied New Orleans. Baton Rouge and Natchez were taken later by Farragut, and Forts Jackson and St. Philip surrendered to Porter.

Beginning of Grant's Campaign. — General Ulysses S. Grant, destined to great fame, performed a most important part in opening the Mississippi farther north. Early in

February, 1862, Grant with a small army and some gunboats under Commodore Foote captured Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River. With a larger force he then marched rapidly across the country to Fort Donelson, where he



WAR IN THE WEST, 1861-1863

captured General Buckner and 15,000 men. It was in his communication with Buckner that Grant, when asked his terms, demanded "unconditional surrender." ¹

¹ A growing army under Grant and a large force under General Don Carlos Buell were active in Middle Tennessee. To escape the fate of Buckner, Albert Sidney Johnston, in command at Nashville, withdrew to Corinth, in northern Mississippi.

Shiloh. — With an army of 45,000 Grant moved up the Tennessee River. Buell was marching to join him with 35,000 men. By uniting their forces they hoped to crush General Albert Sidney Johnston, an able commander with an army of 40,000. At Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing, in April, 1862, the carelessness of Grant gave Johnston an opportunity to cripple one army before its junction with the other. Early in the morning of April 6, 1862, Johnston began the attack. After collecting the separated Union divisions, Grant coolly directed the battle, but by night he was driven from his position. In leading a charge Johnston was mortally wounded, an event which greatly discouraged his men. On the following morning Grant renewed the battle with spirit. In the meantime Buell had come up and the Confederates fell back to Corinth. As they failed in their purpose of driving the Union forces out of Tennessee, the bloody battle of Shiloh has always passed for a Northern victory. However, the loss of the Federal armies was greater than that of the Confederates.

Pope's Success. — Grant's victories in the interior of Tennessee left certain Confederate posts on the upper Mississippi in a situation of danger. Columbus was abandoned and Island No. 10 was attacked in March by General Pope, who took the positions with 7000 prisoners. Gunboats were afterward free to run on the Mississippi. Memphis and nearby places were then in Union hands. It was Pope's success on the Mississippi that afterward led to his command at the Second Bull Run, as we have seen (page 363).

Bragg's Raid. — From Chattanooga, in southeastern Tennessee, General Bragg with 35,000 troops eluded Buell and marched northward through that state and Kentucky, striking terror to the citizens of Louisville and Cincinnati. Buell recruited his army and with a superior force went in

pursuit of his enemy. On October 8, 1862, they met at Perryville and engaged in a struggle which lasted till evening. Bragg then retired to Chattanooga, Buell following as far as Nashville, where his army was turned over to General Rosecrans

Murfreesboro. — On the last day of the year 1862 Rosecrans attacked Bragg on Stone River near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. General George Thomas, of whom we shall hear again, saved the Union army. On January 2, 1863, Bragg renewed the battle, but was beaten off, when he withdrew to Chattanooga. The Union loss was 13,000, the Confederate 10,000. However, as the Federal forces were not driven from Tennessee, this desperate battle has been regarded as a Northern victory. During 1862 much of Tennessee and Arkansas, and a part of Mississippi had been wrested from the Confederacy.

Siege and Capture of Vicksburg. — At this time General Halleck, after slowly advancing to Corinth, was called to Washington to assist the President. For the Union cause it was a fortunate event, because it gave to General Grant the command of the large army at Corinth. When New Orleans and Memphis had been captured by Union forces, the South began to strengthen the defenses at Vicksburg, Mississippi. That place still controlled the great river and made it possible for the South to get supplies from the states

¹ General Philip H. Sheridan was of great assistance to General Thomas.

² The command of the Confederate army in Arkansas was given to General Van Dorn, who was defeated at Pea Ridge. March 7 and 8, 1862, by a smaller force under Curtis. When the main Confederate army was hard pressed at Corinth, Mississippi (page 370), Price was compelled, for lack of troops, to give up much of Arkansas to the Union forces. The loss of Little Rock, which was taken September 10, 1863, was a fatel blow to the Confederate cause in that state. Northern Arkansas always had a strong loyal element. When Confederate reverses began to come, desertions were frequent and Union sympathizers became outspoken. By December, 1863, eight regiments of Arkansas troops had enlisted in the Union army.

west of the Mississippi. Grant was criticized by the newspapers for inactivity, but Lincoln supported him. Believing that he lacked enterprise, the Confederates attacked him at Corinth, but were easily defeated.

The first Vicksburg expedition under General William Tecumseh Sherman was repulsed, while another force met



GENERAL U. S. GRANT

with a reverse at Holly Springs, Mississippi. Grant then learned that Vicksburg could not be taken from the north. Therefore, after failing to cut a canal to carry boats past Vicksburg, he sent a number of gunboats and transports down the river past the batteries, and with their aid took his army across the river below the city. Thus he was able to attack Vicksburg from the east.¹

On July 4, 1863, General Pemberton surrendered Vicksburg with about 30,000 troops, 13 generals, 172 cannon, and 60,000 muskets. Five days later General Banks took Port Hudson with many prisoners. At last the Mississippi River was open to the Union forces from its source to its mouth. In almost the same hour the South was dealt two stunning blows, namely, at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. The tide of war had turned, and, what was of immeasurable value, the fighting in the West had discovered four great commanders, namely, Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and Sheridan.

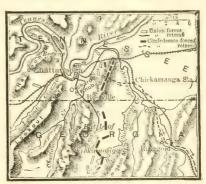
¹ On April 30, 1863, he captured Grand Gulf, Mississippi. He then led his army to Jackson in the same state, thus preventing a union of Confederate armies. General Pemberton was defeated at Champion Hills and also at a crossing of the Big Black River. Afterward he entered the defenses of Vicksburg, where he was besieged by Grant. When two assaults had been repulsed, Grant proceeded to starve the garrison into surrender.

The Battle of Chickamauga. — After the battle of Murfreesboro, Rosecrans had remained inactive in central Tennessee. After the capture of Vicksburg, however, he attempted to cut Bragg's communications with Atlanta. On September 18, 1863, the armies met at Chickamauga Creek. Two days later the Union forces were driven back in confusion toward Chattanooga, but in his part of the field Thomas repulsed all attacks and took thousands of prisoners. Sheridan urged him to renew the fight and complete his victory, but Thomas, who was not only able but exceedingly cautious, believed that they had accomplished enough in saving their army from destruction. Because of his

splendid service General Thomas was nicknamed "The Rock of Chickamauga." In the fighting of September 19 and 20 the loss on each side was

over 16,000.

Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.
— Believing that his army was routed, Rosecrans left the field of Chickamauga for Chat-



CHATTANOOGA CAMPAIGN

tanooga, whence he called for reënforcements. He was superseded by General Thomas. To aid him, General Hooker was sent from the army of the Potomac with 16,000 men. Sherman brought another force, and Grant, who commanded nearly all the West, came from Vicksburg, to take personal charge.

On November 24, 1863, Sherman attacked the end of Missionary Ridge. Hooker carried the slope of Lookout Mountain, placed the stars and stripes on its summit, and

vigorously pursued the retreating enemy. On November 25 Thomas and Sherman drove the Confederates from Missionary Ridge in a wonderful battle in which Sheridan was a conspicuous leader. After heavy losses Bragg retreated to Ringgold, Georgia, where General Joseph E. Johnston was appointed to his command.

These victories near Chattanooga offset the defeat at Chickamauga, and left the Union victorious in the West.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — When President Buchanan was asked to surrender Fort Sumter, what reply did he make? What is meant by State's Rights? When did the Confederate States of America organize, and what was their first capital? Did Lincoln purpose to destroy slavery? About what question did the war begin? Describe Lincoln's call for volunteers. What was the South doing? Describe the battle of Bull Run. What successes made McClellan commander of the Army of the Potomac? While he was advancing on Richmond what did "Stonewall" Jackson do? Under what circumstances did Robert E. Lee get the command of the Confederate army? What encouraged Lee's first invasion of the North? Where was he defeated? Describe the battle of Fredericksburg. Who followed Burnside in command of the Union army, and where was he defeated? Describe Lee's second invasion of the North. Where and when was he defeated?

Who opened up the Mississippi from the south? Who opened up the great river from the north? Tell the story of the capture of Vicksburg. What great commanders were discovered in the armies of the West? Was Chickamauga a Union or a Confederate victory? Describe the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

References. — J. Ford Rhodes, A History of the United States; Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln, A History; Memoirs of Grant, of Sherman, of Sheridan; Schouler, A History of the United States; Pollard, The Lost Cause; Roman, General Beauregard's Military Operations.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE CIVIL WAR (Continued)

EMANCIPATION

Proposal of Compensated Emancipation. — Lincoln's inaugural address already quoted (page 357) set forth his policy as to the South. In dealing with Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, he observed the greatest caution. But there were many in the North who demanded that the war should bring about the end of slavery.

In July, 1862, Lincoln called to the White House the Representatives and Senators from the border states, namely, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and asked them to consider an offer of \$400 a head for their slaves.¹ They not only declined the offer, but with the exception of Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri, most of them refused even to present the matter to the people of their states. In their judgment the United States had no right to interfere with the states in the matter of slavery.

Military Emancipation.—A few days after Lee was driven out of Maryland, September 22, 1862, the President gave out a preliminary proclamation announcing that in any state or part of a state where the people were in re-

¹ According to the census of 1860 there were 432,622 slaves in the border states and the District of Columbia, distributed as follows: Delaware, 1798; Maryland, 87,188; District of Columbia, 3181; Kentucky, 225,490; Missouri, 114,965; total, 432,622 slaves. At \$400 each, this would amount to \$173,048,800. At \$2,000,000 a day the war would cost in 87 days \$174,000,000, which was more than the estimated value of all the slaves in the border states. Lincoln believed that his plan would shorten the war more than eighty-seven days, for the lower South would not then expect to be joined by the border states. That hope was prolonging the struggle.

bellion against the United States on January 1, 1863, their slaves would be set free, as a war measure, by the President's authority as commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States. Accordingly, on January 1,



STATUE OF LINCOLN THE EMAN-CIPATOR, AT WASHINGTON

1863, he proclaimed that the slaves should be free in all the seceding states, except Tennessee and certain named parts of Louisiana and Virginia, where Union forces were in control.

The Formation of West Virginia.—By a vote of 88 to 55 the commonwealth of Virginia, in April, 1861, passed an ordinance of secession. Most of the fifty-five Union men came from beyond the Alleghenies,

where the people held few slaves. They soon organized a new state, which they called West Virginia. They elected as their governor Francis Harrison Pierpont, and sent Representatives and Senators to Washington. After some protest they were admitted to seats in Congress. Lincoln proclaimed West Virginia a member of the Union in the summer of 1863.

Attempts to Reconstruct Tennessee. — When, in January, 1861, Southern Senators left Washington, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, remained. After Grant's early victories, President Lincoln sent Johnson to Nashville as military governor and directed him to organize from the loyal elements in Tennessee a state government friendly to the Union. This work was interrupted by General Bragg's campaign of 1862 (page 370), but was later carried out.

The Louisiana Plan. — At the same time Lincoln was attempting to organize a loyal government in Louisiana.

According to his view, when the majority in a state seceded from the Union, the state lived on in the loyal minority, even though that minority was small. If a marshal could find citizens willing to take an oath of allegiance to the United States equal in number to one tenth of the state's voters in the presidential election of 1860, that minority would be recognized by the President as the lawful state and would receive the protection of the army and navy while organizing their loyal government and winning wavering people to its support. This was Lincoln's ten per cent plan.

The Thirteenth Amendment. — The Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, did not affect the condition of slaves in the border states, in Tennessee, or in the excepted parts of Louisiana and Virginia. Moreover, if it had freed every slave in the seceding states, when the war was ended the planters could buy more negroes and in that way restore the institution. Therefore to abolish slavery there was proposed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was declared ratified on December 18, 1865. Thus was forever removed the chief subject of dispute between the North and the South.

The Draft. — By 1863 it was necessary to draft men for the respective armies. Congress passed a law ordering drafts from among the men liable for military service. A drafted man, however, might furnish a substitute or be exempt from service on payment of \$300.

A poor man, if drafted, could neither pay the \$300 nor find a substitute. Thus in the working of the law the poor man saw a discrimination in favor of the rich. This feeling was played upon by politicians until July 14, 1863, when it culminated in the city of New York in robbery, rioting, and the hanging of negroes. Order was restored after 1000 persons had been killed or wounded.

Negro Soldiers. — From the first moments of the war negroes were put by their owners to work upon Southern fortifications. It was a knowledge of this fact that led General Butler, when slaves escaped to his lines in Virginia,



MEMORIAL TO COLONEL SHAW, OF BOSTON, COMMANDER OF A NEGRO REGIMENT

to declare them "contraband of war," and to refuse to restore them to their masters. But the South went still further, for when the same officer occupied New Orleans in May, 1862, a Confederate negro regiIf the South used

ment was among the captured troops. the negro, why could not the North?

After the Emancipation Proclamation went into force, January 1, 1863, Lincoln accepted the enlistment of negroes. During the remainder of the war about 180 colored regiments were mustered into the military service.

THE BLOCKADE AND THE NAVY

Blockade of Southern Ports. — Early in the war President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring in a state of blockade all ports from Alexandria, Virginia, to Galveston, Texas. As already mentioned, the Southerners in office under Buchanan had taken care to scatter the vessels of the United States navy. Indeed it has been said that the nearest ship was at Vera Cruz, Mexico. Lincoln's proclamation, therefore, was at first of little effect. However, distant ships were recalled, others were built, and still

others were bought. Thus the blockade steadily grew more efficient until toward the close of the war very little was smuggled into the South and still less was exported.

Running the Blockade. — Cotton was the chief source of Southern wealth. If that crop could be marketed, the prosperity of the seceding states would continue. Great

Britain led Europe in the manufacture of cotton goods and was thus the best customer of the Confederacy. Therefore, regardless of Lincoln's proclamation, British ships attempted to



A BLOCKADE RUNNER

enter Southern ports. Goods of all sorts were brought from England to the town of Nassau in the Bahamas, where they were loaded on blockade runners, which on moonless nights arrived off Charleston or off Wilmington, North Carolina, dashed through the blockading squadron, and entered port. Cotton was loaded on the returning ship.

The Trent Affair. — While neither Great Britain nor France recognized the independence of the seceding states, both powers soon acknowledged their belligerent rights. To urge full recognition, the Confederate authorities sent James M. Mason to England and John Slidell to France. After running the blockade Mason and Slidell took passage at Havana, Cuba, on the British mail steamer Trent Hearing of this, Captain Wilkes of the United States man-of-war San Jacinto fired a shot, stopped the British vessel, and took off the two Confederates (November, 1861). In both the United States and England there was intense excitement. England demanded the release of Mason and Slidell and

prepared for war. Lincoln disavowed the act of Captain Wilkes, and sent the envoys to Halifax, whence they continued their journey to Europe. The conduct of Captain Wilkes was almost the same as the conduct of those British officers whose acts brought on the War of 1812.

The Confederate Navy. - Notwithstanding the protest of Charles Francis Adams, United States minister to Great Britain, several Confederate cruisers were built or bought in England and permitted to go to sea, where they destroyed Northern merchant ships. Of these Confederate cruisers the most celebrated was the Alabama, built in Liverpool and equipped near the Cape Verde Islands. There, on the high seas, she received from an English tender not only her guns and crew but her commander, Raphael Semmes. Except her captain, one subaltern, and her flag. the Alabama was in nearly every respect a British vessel. For two years she ranged every sea from China to Brazil, plundering and destroying sixty Union ships. On a morning in June, 1864, she was found by the Kearsarge in the harbor of Cherbourg, France. Semmes did not seek to escape, but went seven miles out to sea, where in a short engagement with the Federal vessel the Alabama was sunk.¹

The Navy along the Coast. — So effective was the Union blockade of the Confederacy that in a little while there was distress in the South. Not only were luxuries scarce but even some necessaries of life were almost impossible to obtain. The navy also coöperated with the army in reducing forts along the coast, and assisted in carrying troops.²

¹ The Confederate naval agent abroad was Captain John C. Bulloch, a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. After leaving the navy, he entered the merchant service and in time became an officer of wide nautical experience. His arrangements were made with the Laird Brothers of Liverpool, who were to be paid in cotton. Other vessels of the *Alabama* type were the *Florida*, the *Georgia*, and the *Shenandoah*.

² In 1861 the forts at the entrance of Port Royal and Pamlico Sound were taken. During the next year the many gained control of Albemarle and

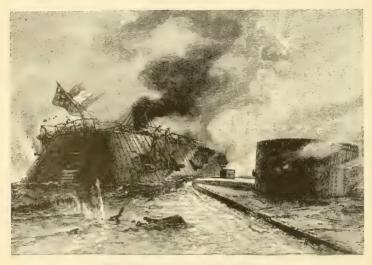
The Monitor and the Merrimac. — Because of its effect on naval construction the battle between the Merrimac and the Monitor was the most important of the contests on the water. When the war began, there were both ships and supplies at the United States navy yard in Norfolk, Virginia. Fearing that they would fall into the hands of the enemy, the commandant destroyed both buildings and ships. One of the vessels that he sank was the Merrimac, whose hull was afterward found by the Confederates to be in good condition. It was raised, equipped with ten guns, and given a covering of iron plates that protected it to the water's edge. This was the first ironclad warship.

In March, 1862, the Merrimac, renamed the Virginia, steamed across Hampton Roads, rammed and sank the Cumberland, drowning 100 men, and chased the Congress into shallow water, where she was forced to surrender. Later she was fired by the Confederates. The Merrimac, having proved her value, sailed back to her anchorage, intending to destroy the remainder of the Union fleet on the next day, for the guns of the wooden ships made no impression upon her armor. The whole North was thrown into consternation. It was feared that the blockade would be Full of confidence, the Merrimac on the following morning steered straight for the Minnesota, but before getting within range was met by a queer-looking craft that had come from New York during the night. The deck of the strange vessel was but two feet above the water and about all that could be seen from a distance was a plated

Pamlico sounds by the capture of Roanoke Island, Elizabeth City, Fort Macon, and Newbern. Later (1864) Sumter was destroyed by the navy. In 1862 Farragut took New Orleans and during 1864 cut Mobile's communications with the sea.

The gunbouts of Foote enabled Grant to take Fort Henry and those of Porter took his troops past Vicksburg. On the inland waters they were of the greatest service both for attack and transportation.

turret, which was revolved by machinery. She mounted two heavy guns.¹ The *Merrimac* attempted to ram the *Monitor*, for such was the name of the new adversary, but she glided away like a duck, all the while making good use of her large guns. After four hours both vessels retired to make some slight repairs, but the conflict was not resumed.



THE MERRIMAC AND THE MONITOR

After McClellan's army landed at Fort Monroe in April, 1862, the Confederates destroyed the *Merrimac* so that it should not be captured. The celebrated duel showed that the usefulness of wooden battleships had passed.²

¹ Mention has already been made (page 300) of Captain John Ericsson, a Swedish engineer who invented the screw propeller. He it was who designed the *Monitor*, a sort of sea-going battery. It would be difficult to overestimate its value to the Union.

² In 1864 the Confederacy was building at Plymouth, North Carolina, another ram called the *Albemarle*, but she was injured by a torpedo exploded by Lieutenant Cushing, who went from Norfolk in a small launch by interior waterways. The story of his exploit is of great interest.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Relations with Great Britain. — Lincoln's sense of justice not less than his foresight averted war with England over the Trent affair (page 379). In that country a few of the nobility and some great leaders like John Bright were friendly to the Union, but generally the upper and the middle classes were hostile. The blockade, by preventing cotton shipments from the South, deprived multitudes of English people of their usual employment. Nevertheless, the laboring classes knew the nature of the great conflict and espoused the side of freedom. To influence public opinion in favor of the North, the President sent Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, an eloquent speaker, to explain to Englishmen the cause of the strife.

Relations with France. Napoleon III, Emperor of France, took advantage of the war to interfere in the government of Mexico. To explain the cause of our Civil War to the people of France, Mr. Lincoln asked the Right Reverend Bishop Hughes, of New York, to proceed to Paris. This the patriotic and eloquent clergyman cheerfully did.

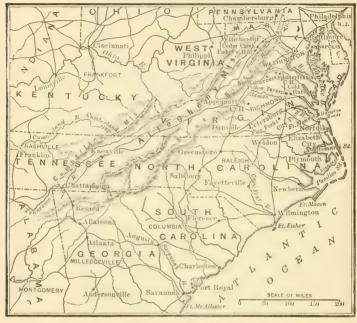
Russia showed her friendship for the United States by sending here a strong fleet.

CAMPAIGNS OF 1864-1865

After the double victory of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, Grant was made commander in chief of all the Union armies (February, 1864). He then went East and made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac. Sheridan was transferred to the Army of the Potomac and was made chief of cavalry; later, as we shall see, he was given command of a separate army. Sherman was left

¹ This violation of the Monroe Doctrine, as we shall see, received attention when the Civil War was over.

at the head of the army in the West. Grant's plan for 1864 was to attack and keep on attacking, in the East as well as in the West.¹



CAMPAIGNS OF 1864-1865

The Atlanta Campaign. — Joseph E. Johnston was in command of 75,000 Confederates for the defense of Atlanta. Sherman with Thomas had a force of 99,000. He began

¹ If cotton could be seized in the South by the Union army and shipped to England, to some extent it would meet the demand of the factories and also deprive the Confederacy of a valuable resource. To accomplish this double object and likewise to get a foothold in Texas, an army under General Banks and a fleet under Admiral Porter jointly ascended the Red River toward Shreveport, Louisiana, early in 1864. On April 8 at Sabine Cross Roads the Federal Forces were attacked and defeated by General Richard Taylor. They retired with the loss of a few gunboats.

to advance early in May. Though Johnston destroyed the railroad as he retired, it was so rapidly rebuilt that the Confederate rear guard often heard the whistle of the locomotive that accompanied Sherman's advance. Johnston selected strong positions, but generally Sherman was too cautious to attempt to take them by assault. From one stronghold after another he forced his enemy by a succession of flank movements. Finally the Federal army reached a point only six miles from Atlanta. Johnston, who saved his soldiers, was criticized for not fighting and on July 17 he was superseded by General J. B. Hood.

In three days Hood fought and lost three bloody battles at Peach Tree Creek. Atlanta, and Ezra Church. His loss was over 10,000. Sherman's losses were almost as great, but his army was larger. On September 2, 1864, Hood left Atlanta and Sherman entered. The tidings of this success caused rejoicing in the North.

Hood's Raid. — To force Sherman from Atlanta, Hood attacked his line of communications at Allatoona, but was defeated. Then he went back to the Tennessee River, threatening Nashville. But this did not disturb Sherman, who sent Thomas back to Tennessee with an army that soon grew to 60,000. Hood's total was about 54,000, not enough to defeat so able a leader as Thomas, who was probably surpassed by no general in either army. Thomas gathered his forces in Nashville, and made ready to attack. Lincoln was afraid that Hood would escape and became impatient at Thomas's slow and careful methods. But all the telegrams from Washington did not hasten the movements of Thomas. On December 15, when he felt entirely ready to begin, he attacked Hood, driving him back several miles. On the next day Thomas renewed the battle. The diminished Confederate army fought desperately, but barely escaped annihilation. Of the 54,000 veterans with whom Hood entered Tennessee fewer than 15,000 held together as a military organization. The others had been killed, captured, or dispersed. The fine army of Johnston had been wrecked; the war in the West was practically over.

The March to the Sea. — Meanwhile Sherman was making an unexpected move. He destroyed the railroad behind him, also the machine shops and other public property in Atlanta; and on November 15, 1864, with a veteran army of 60,000 and 5000 cavalry under General



GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN

Hugh Judson Kilpatrick. turned his face toward the sea, 360 miles distant. In the sixty-mile zone over which his troops passed they tore up the railroads and did much other damage. Sherman reported that his army took or destroyed property to the value of \$100,000,000, one fifth of which was of use to the Union cause, and four fifths of which was merely wasted. During his march the North knew

nothing of his progress save what was gleaned from Southern newspapers.¹ On December 10, 1864, Sherman arrived at Fort McAllister, which defended Savannah. Unable to hold it, Hardee's small garrison prudently withdrew on December 20th. Sherman then entered Savannah, and remained there until February, 1865. That part of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi had been cut in two.

¹ In those days there were no aëroplanes and there was no wireless telegraphy.

The Advance on Richmond. — On the same day in May, 1864, that Sherman began his advance toward Atlanta, Georgia, the Army of the Potomac, under Grant's eve, began an advance toward Richmond. On May 4, 1864, the battle of the Wilderness was begun by the Confederates: Lee attacked Grant as he had attacked Hooker under similar circumstances the year before. The Wilderness engagement of May 5 and 6 was a drawn battle with heavy losses on both sides. But Grant did not turn back. Turning to the left, he began a new advance. The next collision occurred at Spottsylvania Court House, where the fighting was most severe on May 12. It was after his heavy losses in this constant fighting that Crant said in a dispatch, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." In eighteen days of marching and fighting the Union loss was 34,000. At this time Grant was just where McClellan had been two years before. On June 3, 1864, there was a stubborn fight at Cold Harbor, six miles from the defenses of Richmond. Grant, wishing to crush Lee's army, ordered a general assault with his force of 80,000 men. The Confederates in security shot down multitudes of Union troops. Grant's loss was 8000, Lee's 600. Grant was sharply criticized for his apparent indifference to loss of life; in fact, he afterward admitted his error. During his advance from the Rapidan to the James, he had lost almost 55,000 men, while his adversary had lost but 19,000.

The Siege of Petersburg. — On June 14 Grant crossed the James River at City Point.¹ He sacrificed 10,000 men in his attempts to take Petersburg by assault. He then

¹ General Butler was already there with a strong army operating against Petersburg. He was to have made a vigorous attack on Richmond from the south, but moved too slowly. When he did advance he was defeated by a smaller force under Beauregard and then occupied a defensive position until Grant joined him.

began to reduce it by siege. To ease the situation, Lee sent General Jubal A. Early into the Shenandoah Valley, to drive out the Union forces and threaten Washington.

Devastation of Shenandoah Valley. — After hurling General Sigel out of the valley Early crossed the Potomac, defeated General Lew Wallace at the Monocacy and by July 11, 1864, was on the northern outskirts of Washington. Troops sent up by Grant defeated him next morning, but by a rapid retreat Early was soon back in the Valley. After a brief rest he dashed through Maryland and entered Pennsylvania, where he burned Chambersburg, because of its refusal to pay tribute.

Grant sent Sheridan with a strong army into the Valley. Sheridan, who arrived early in August, 1864, had the military genius and almost the prudence of Thomas, but he had a dash that was all his own. In the Wilderness campaign he had worked havor with Confederate supplies; in June he dispersed the cavalry of the famous General J. E. B. Stuart, the terror of the Army of the Potomac, who was killed in an action at Yellow Tavern. At Winchester, September 19, 1864, and again at Fisher's Hill, on the 22d, Sheridan defeated Early and drove him up the Valley. Then, with Grant's permission, Sheridan destroyed everything that would be of service to an army, so completely that, in his own language, "a crow flying over the country would need to carry his rations."

Cedar Creek. — The South demanded retaliation and accordingly General Lee sent reënforcements to Early's army. In the absence of Sheridan, who had gone to Washington, his command was surprised October 19, 1864, at Cedar Creek and driven back several miles. The Union

¹ One incident of this siege was the explosion of a mine followed by an assault. In this affair of "the Crater," Grant lost 4000 men without inflicting upon the enemy any serious injury.

General had passed the night before at Winchester and was riding leisurely toward his army when he heard the sound of cannon. Knowing that a battle was in progress, he urged his horse at full speed to find, on reaching the front, that most of his troops were in retreat, though a few regiments were confidently holding their ground. Sheridan renewed the battle and by night had sent Early's army in flight from a field which in the morning had been theirs. Thenceforth, Washington was safe from attack.



SHERIDAN'S RIDE

Election of 1864. — On June 7, 1864, in convention at Baltimore, the Republicans or Union party renominated Lincoln for President and for Vice President named Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, a Democrat and slaveholder but a strong Union man. The Democratic convention named General George B. McClellan for President. Sheridan's successes in the Shenandoah and Sherman's capture of Atlanta were regarded as an answer to the assertion of the Democratic platform that the war was a failure. The election, which occurred November 8, 1864, was an over-

whelming victory for the Union ticket. Lincoln was reelected by 312 electoral votes to 21 for McClellan.¹

The Fall of Richmond. — After completing his work in the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan joined Grant. On April 1, 1865 he was sent against a Confederate position at Five Forks, where he won a success the last great victory of the war. Hearing of this, Grant ordered a general assault, which also was successful. Knowing that Richmond was doomed, on the morning of April 2 General Lee notified Mr. Davis. His troops were moving along the line of the Danville railroad on their way to join Johnston in North Carolina. Grant was eager to crush Lee's diminishing army before this junction could take place. On April 5 Sheridan seized the Danville railway, preventing escape by that route, and on April 8 succeeded in getting in front of Lee's hungry and disheartened men. Behind Sheridan's cavalry was a strong infantry force. When, on April 9, Lee ordered his men to disperse the cavalry, the Federal horsemen drew aside, revealing just back of them infantry in solid formation. There was no escape.

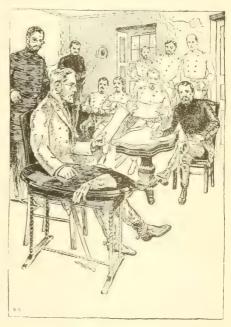
Lee's Surrender. — Sheridan sent for Grant, who hurried to the front and with Lee arranged the terms of surrender. Their meeting, marked by courtesy, took place April 9, 1865, at the McLean house in the village of Appomattox. After some friendly conversation Lee inquired on what terms his surrender would be received. Thereupon Grant wrote out the terms, which were accepted. Officers were to retain

¹ At this time the Confederacy was so feeble that Mr. Francis P. Blair, with the permission of President Lincoln, went to Richmond to visit Jefferson Davis to see if the war could not be ended. As a result a meeting was arranged at Hampton Roads, where on February 3, 1865, Lincoln and Seward met three Confederate commissioners. To stop the war Lincoln demanded three things: the disbanding of the Confederate armies, the submission of the seceding states to the rule of Congress, and the abolition of slavery. These terms were not accepted, and the war continued, for Jefferson Davis insisted upon Southern independence.

their horses, when they owned them, their side arms, and their private baggage. Grant also agreed that the cavalrymen and artillery men could keep their horses "for the spring plowing." With other officers General Lee was

allowed to keep his sword. The casualties of the march and the battle, the inroads of hunger and desertion reduced the once formidable Army of Northern Virginia to fewer than 27,000 men. After a touching farewell by their great commander, General Lee, the men in gray turned homeward, their chieftain rode toward Richmond. The long tragedy was almost over.

Surrender of Johnston. — After



LEE'S SURRENDER

resting his men, Sherman marched north through Georgia and the Carolinas. Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, was burned as the army was passing through it. Confederates under General Joseph E. Johnston were unable to stop the Union advance. On April 26, 1865, Johnston

¹ While Johnston was waiting at Greensboro, North Carolina, to be joined by Lee's army, Jefferson Davis came to him on his flight southward. Davis advised Johnston to retire to the mountains and continue the war, but Johnston opposed this plan and told the fugitive President that his soldiers desired peace.

accepted from Sherman the terms accorded to General Lee and surrendered 37,000 men. General Taylor, the son of Zachary Taylor, surrendered on May 4th the troops in Alabama and Mississippi, and about three weeks later General Kirby Smith surrendered the troops of the department beyond the Mississippi. The military phase of the war was ended.

Capture of Jefferson Davis. — While General Johnston was discussing terms of surrender with Sherman, Mr. Davis went to Georgia, where he was captured by Union soldiers. He was afterward confined, and for a time put in irons at Fort Monroe, where he remained a prisoner for two years. He was finally allowed to go out on bail, but was never brought to trial.

Death of Lincoln. — The tidings of Lee's surrender caused general rejoicing in the North, where the event was hailed as the end of the war; but mirth and jollity were hushed by news of Lincoln's tragic death. The President had hoped to banish the cares of a busy day by a few hours' recreation at Ford's Theater, in Washington. Accompanying him to the playhouse on the fatal evening of April 14, 1865, were Mrs. Lincoln and a few friends. While the President was watching the progress of the play, John Wilkes Booth moved noiselessly behind him, and shot him in the head.¹ Lincoln lingered all night, but throughout remained unconscious. He died on the morning of April 15, and Andrew Johnson became President.

After shooting Mr. Lincoln, Booth, brandishing a dagger, jumped upon the stage shouting, "Sic semper tyrannis!" ("Thus be it ever to tyrants"; the motto of the state of Virginia.) As he leaped, his spur (the assassin was prepared for riding) caught in the folds of the American flag which draped the President's box, and threw him heavily. In the fall he broke a leg. However, in the confusion he escaped, mounted a fleet hors, which was in waiting outside, and galloped off into southern Maryland. There was instant pursuit; the fugitive was followed across the Potomac into Virginia, traced to his hiding place in a barn, and, having refused to surrender, was shot and killed by a cavalryman.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR

Magnitude of the War. — In his first call for volunteers President Lincoln suggested enlistments for ninety days, because not only government officials but people in general believed that the insurrection would be put down before the end of that period. Afterward men enlisted for three years or during the war. In special emergencies, such as Lee's second invasion of the North, "home guards" served for thirty or sixty days. The total number of enlistments for the Union army was not far under 3,000,000, but it must be remembered that many enlisted several times. On January 1, 1863, the Union armies contained 900,000 men, while those of the Confederacy included nearly 700,000. But at the close of the war more than 1,000,000 men were serving in the Union ranks, while desertion and the waste of war had greatly reduced the number of Confederates. During April and May, 1865, the total number of Southern troops that surrendered was about 175,000.

Cost of the War. — The Federal government raised immense sums in taxes, but during the progress of the war paid out for expenses far larger amounts of money. The end of the conflict left a national debt of nearly \$3,000,000,000. Experts have estimated that the war cost both sections \$8,000,000,000. The share of the North is usually given as \$5,000,000,000 and that of the South as \$3,000,000,000. But these estimates are the rudest sort of guesses. Forty years after the close of the war the United States government was paying yearly in pensions \$165,000,000. It is clear that in ten or fifteen years this annual outlay would run into other billions. For the support of the Union army and navy the cost soon rose to \$2,000,000 a day, and toward the close of the war grew to be about \$3,000,000.

Conditions in the South. — After the blockade began to be rigidly enforced, the South was reduced to a condition of distress. It was almost impossible there to get so common a necessity as salt. Tea and coffee were soon impossible to obtain. Homespun clothing, colored with homemade dyes, was generally worn, but even this was scarce and expensive. Repeated issues of Confederate paper money so raised prices that, according to Mrs. Jefferson Davis, by 1864 a pair of shoes cost \$150 and a barrel of flour \$300.1

War Money. — When the war broke out, the only money in circulation was gold and silver coin and the notes issued by the state banks. But the coin soon disappeared from circulation. In March, 1863, therefore, Congress issued \$50,000,000 in fractional currency. This included bills of the following denominations: 3, 5, 10, 15, 25, and 50 cents. During the four years of war, also, the United States treasury issued more than \$450,000,000 in paper money, popularly known as greenbacks.²

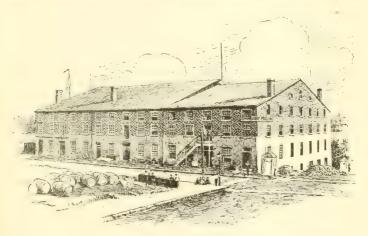
National Banks. — Besides the paper money issued by the Federal government there were in circulation thousands of different kinds of notes put out by the state banks. In value these bills, though of the same denomination, were quite unequal; some were entirely worthless. To replace them by a sound and uniform currency, and also to provide a market for government bonds, Congress established

¹ The South suffered far more than the North from the devastation of war. Former pages have referred to the wasting of the Shenandoah Valley and of that zone in Georgia traversed by Sherman's army. But these were only striking examples of what, on a smaller scale, was constantly occurring in other areas. Cattle were driven away or killed where they stood. Fences, barns, crops, dwellings, and even the implements of farming were frequently devoted to the flames. Atlanta, Columbia, Charleston, Richmond, and other cities were almost destroyed by siege or by fire.

² In 1864 a "greenback" dollar was worth only forty cents in gold, but earlier in the war its value ranged from fifty to seventy cents.

(1863) the national banking system, one of the most important measures of the war.¹

Military Prisons. — In the early part of the war, especially in the East, in almost every engagement Union soldiers were captured by companies and even by regiments. They were sent as prisoners of war to the Libby warehouse at Richmond, to Andersonville, Salisbury, Florence, and other places. The Andersonville prison, a great



LIBBY PRISON

stockade in Georgia, is perhaps the best known of them all. At one time it held 33,000 Union soldiers. Even in the beginning, when the South was comparatively prosperous, prisoners of war suffered hardships that no pen can describe. In the prison camps of the North also, where there

¹ By the Act of 1863 any association of five or more persons having a capital of at least \$100,000 could organize a national bank, buy national bonds to the amount of one third of the capital, deposit those bonds in the treasury at Washington, and issue "national bank notes" to the amount of 90 per cent of such deposit.

was not the same excuse as in the impoverished South, there was much cruel suffering.

Political Parties during the War. — By leaving Congress in a body the Southern members gave to the Republicans complete control of the national legislature. The dominant party was divided into two groups, one supporting Lincoln and mildly opposed to slavery, and the other made up of devoted Unionists who were extreme antislavery people and who favored harsh treatment of the South after the war. The Democrats, like the Republicans, were divided into two camps. Those were called "War Democrats" who opposed secession and showed their levalty to the Union both at the polls and on the field of battle. These patriots, who did not greatly differ from moderate Republicans, rendered valuable service to the nation in thus putting their country above their party. Another group of Democrats, though professing devotion to the Union, criticized the management of the war and tried to undermine the national support of it.

Personal Liberty. — The preservation of the Union was the principle which shaped all of President Lincoln's important acts. What he deemed necessary for that end he did. He might, indeed, have followed in the footsteps of Buchanan and shown greater tenderness in dealing with the seceders. But when a conflict became inevitable, he acted promptly. Without waiting for the authority of Congress he called for troops, organized armies, and proclaimed a blockade of the South.

Not in Maryland only, but in states far from the theater of war men were imprisoned on the charge of assisting the South. Persons who discouraged enlistments were liable to arrest. Thousands of such offenders were thrown into jails by Federal officials, and because of that fact Lincoln was denounced as a tyrant. If the President had not been

both prompt and energetic in dealing with those who opposed or defied the government, it is not hard to guess what would have happened. To him the question seemed to be, "Is the Union worth saving?" On that subject he believed patriots could not differ.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What offer did President Lincoln make to the border states? Why did he make it? When Lincoln's offer of payment for slaves was rejected, what did he consider? Explain the division of Virginia. What was the Louisiana plan? Why was the Thirteenth Amendment necessary after the Emancipation Proclamation?

Discuss the blockade of Southern ports. Describe the methods of running the blockade. Tell of the *Trent* incident. How were the Confederate cruisers equipped? Relate the history of the *Alabama*. What was the importance of our navy? Describe the contest between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*. Who was Captain Ericsson? What is said of our relations with Great Britain, France, and Russia?

What was the Union plan for 1864? What did General Sherman do? Relate the facts of Grant's advance on Richmond. Who devastated the Shenandoah Valley and destroyed Early's army? Who was elected President in 1864? Who won the battle of Five Forks? Whose army cut off the retreat of Lee? Who accepted the surrender of Lee?

Describe the surrender of the remaining Confederate armies. Tell the story of the capture of Jefferson Davis; of the assassination of Lincoln. Who then became President of the United States?

About how many enlistments were there in the North? What is said of the cost of the war? Describe conditions in the North and in the South, at the close of the war. Name the Southern military prisons. Give an account of political parties at the close of the conflict.

References. — Charles H. McCarthy, Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction; Rhodes, A History of the United States; Bulloch, The Confederate Naval Service Abroad; Nicolay and Hay, Abraham Lincoln; A History.

CHAPTER XXX

ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION (1862-1877)

Plans of Reconstruction. — The four years of destruction were to be followed by a long period of reconstruction. This was a dreary era for the South. The story of the restoration of the seeding states to their former places in the Union divides itself into two parts, namely, Presidential Reconstruction and Congressional Reconstruction. The former extended from March, 1862, to December, 1865. Congressional Reconstruction covers the period between December, 1865, and the spring of 1877, when President Hayes recalled from the South the last Federal troops.

Presidential Reconstruction. — President Lincoln attempted to apply his system to Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, but the last was the only state reorganized under his influence, that was recognized by Congress.¹ It was Lincoln's policy, too, that brought about the formation of West Virginia as a separate state. His acts greatly strengthened the arm of the nation, for in West Virginia, Tennessee, and Arkansas many loyal regiments were raised and mustered into service. Whatever the defects of his plan, it would have made Southern men the rulers of the South.

Reconstruction under Johnson. — After Lincoln's death, President Johnson attempted to uphold the governments established by the loyal people of Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Virginia. But what was he going to do about the remaining seven states? This he made known

¹ The ten remaining states of the late Confederacy were restored at different times, in 1868 and 1870, under the direction of Congress.

by his appointment, May 29, 1865, of William W. Holden as provisional governor of North Carolina. Johnson authorized a convention to be held. This repudiated the Confederate debt, declared null and void the ordinance of secession, and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution. Practically the same program was followed in the case of each of the remaining states. When the Thirty-ninth Congress convened in December, 1865, there were present in Washington, from nearly all the late seceding states, Senators and Representatives waiting to take their seats. Instead of admitting them, however, Congress appointed a Joint Committee on Reconstruction to inquire into affairs in the Southern States and learn whether any of them were so far restored to their former condition as to be entitled to representation in Congress. This was the end of Presidential Reconstruction. Congress took the whole matter out of the President's hands.

Congressional Reconstruction. — Congress passed many bills concerning the South. These were vetoed by the President. Thus was begun between Andrew Johnson and Congress a quarrel which finally led, as we shall see, to Johnson's impeachment. In the elections of 1866 he traveled over the country denouncing the conduct of Congress.

When the Joint Committee made its report, it recommended the admission to Congress of the Senators and Representatives of Tennessee. That state was restored to its former relations on July 24, 1866. Before the admission of their Congressmen the remaining ten states were required to ratify not only the Thirteenth Amendment, as Tennessee had done, but also the Fourteenth Amendment, which made the freedmen citizens and made most of the Confederate leaders ineligible to office. Ten of the late Confederate states at first rejected this amendment, as did four that had supported the Union, but by July, 1868, it had been ratified

by three fourths of the states, thereby becoming a part of the Constitution.

Impeachment of President Johnson. — In March, 1867, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, which deprived the President of the power to remove certain officials. He might, indeed, suspend them until the Senate inquired into the cause. If the Senate approved the suspension, the officer was removed; if not, he was reinstated. Johnson vetoed the measure, for it was opposed to the past practice in this country, but, like many other bills, it was at once passed over his objection and became a law.

In August, 1867, Johnson disobeyed this law by asking the resignation of Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, and, when that official refused to resign, suspending him. The Senate disapproved and reinstated Stanton, but Johnson removed him and in his place appointed another officer. For this act as well as for his attacks upon Congress, the President was impeached by the House and tried by the Senate, Chief Justice Chase presiding. However, in order to convict, the Constitution requires the vote of two thirds of the Senators present. To make up the necessary two thirds, one vote was lacking. Thus narrowly did the President escape conviction.

Reconstruction Acts. — In February, 1867, Congress grouped the late Confederate states, except Tennessee, into five military districts, each of which was to be placed under the command of an officer not below the rank of brigadier general, who was to maintain order and protect property. In March another bill was passed, setting forth the requirements for readmission to the Union. This directed in each state an enrollment of qualified voters, regardless of race or color; and if a majority of them favored the step, the calling of a convention to make a new constitution. Upon the acceptance of such a constitution by a majority of the

voters and its approval by Congress, Senators and Representatives from the state would be admitted to Congress, provided the legislature had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. President Johnson promptly vetoed this bill, but Congress repassed it over his veto and made it a law.

Military Government. — The military officers were appointed and with sufficient forces went South to govern the people according to the principles of martial law. The orders of a general were given the force of law, and jury trials were replaced by hearings before military commissions. Under the recent acts of Congress many of the leading Southern whites were disfranchised for having supported the war of secession. The colored citizens, on the other

hand, were eager to exercise their new privilege of voting, and were soon in complete control of political affairs in the

Southern States.

Carpetbaggers and Negro Misrule.—In these conditions certain Northern men called "carpetbaggers," saw their opportunity.¹ Swarms of them went into the South, where for years with a few native whites, known as "scalawags," and the assistance of the negroes, they misgoverned



A CARPETBAG

and plundered that section. They formed the black men into clubs, instructed them in the art of voting, and used them to advance their own political fortunes. But the negroes grew weary of assisting their Northern friends, and as they furnished the votes, insisted on getting a share of the offices. Thus it happened that many who had recently been field hands were elected to important positions and several of

¹ A common form of traveling bag was made of carpet. A "carpet-bagger" was a newcomer, supposed to own nothing but what he brought in his carpetbag.

the more intelligent were sent to Congress. In South Carolina it was estimated that there were 200 trial justices unable even to read.

Ku-Klux Klan. — Under the forms of law the people of the South were utterly helpless to protect themselves against "carpetbaggers," "scalawags," and freedmen. Open opposition would have been useless, for in another cause they had appealed to the sword and had lost. Southern leaders, therefore, organized secret societies such as the "Knights of the White Camelia" popularly known as the Ku-Klux Klan. Its object was originally to frighten the negro into good behavior, but in a later stage to terrorize him and keep him from voting.¹

¹ Ruling this "Invisible Empire" was a Grand Wizard. A Grand Dragon ruled over each state, and below him were Grand Titans, Grand Cyclopses, and Ghouls. Hair-raising tales of the power and cruelty of the Klan circulated among the negroes, so that when it became known that the spectral army was "riding," prudent blacks retired to their cabins, where their fears magnified small bands into mighty armies. The sheeted men on horseback the negroes believed to be the spirits of the Confederate dead.

Agents of the Freedmen's Bureau (established in the War Department to feed the helpless ex-slaves, to educate them, and to act as their guardian), prominent negro politicians, "carpetbaggers," "scalawags," and Northern teachers of negro schools were the chief objects of Southern hatred. Any of them was likely to receive a warning. The following notice found in Mississippi was placed on the doorpost of an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau.

K.K. K. DISMAL SWAMP

2D. XI

Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin. The bloody dagger is drawn; the trying hour is at hand; beware! Your steps are marked; the eye of the dark chief is upon you. First he warns; then the avenging dagger flashes in the moonlight.

By order of the Grand Cyclops;

LIXTO

The outrages of the Ku-Klux ranged from mysterious hints of violence to whipping and even murder. Only when the natural leaders of the South regained control of its government did this society cease its activity.

Election of 1868. — The Republican convention in 1868 nominated General Ulysses S. Grant for President. The Democrats named as their standard bearer Horatio Seymour. The Republicans carried the election, but soon began to lose ground, chiefly because of their Southern policy.

Before the war General Grant had been accustomed to act with the Democratic party, but during the years of strife he did not approve its policy, and after his controversy with Johnson he inclined toward Republican measures. His strength, which was undoubted, lay in his honesty and in his purpose to uphold the law.

Fifteenth Amendment. — In February, 1869, Congress submitted to the states the Fifteenth Amendment, which provides that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Having been ratified by a sufficient number of states, this amendment, in March, 1870, went into force. It did not, indeed, expressly give the negroes the right to vote, but it was intended to do so by preventing discrimination against them.

Home Rule in the South. — Grant was the author of the sentiment, "Let us have peace," but when he assumed office, a tempest was gathering. The Ku-Klux outrages were multiplying. Race collisions and election riots, fatal to scores, were frequent. In some states rival governments had been set up. The organization of negro militia companies further inflamed the minds of Southern whites. As the excitement due to war conditions cooled, the Washington authorities were less and less inclined to send troops to interfere in Southern elections. There was growing up a feeling which favored the idea that the states of that section should take care of themselves.

Rise of Liberal Republicans. — The troubles following the attempt to rule the South convinced many Northerners that the government had gone too far. They demanded more liberal treatment for that section. Under the leadership of Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown many voters, especially in the West, left the Republican organization and formed the Liberal Republican party.¹

Case of the Virginius.—In 1868 the Cubans rebelled against Spain and in the course of the ten years' war that followed, American ships were seized, American citizens were arrested, and their property in the island destroyed or confiscated. Filibusters left American ports to assist the Cuban rebels. An offer of mediation by President Grant was declined by Spain.

In 1873 the Virginius, flying the American flag, was seized



HORACE GREELEY

by Spain as a filibuster and fifty-three of her crew and passengers put to death. War was expected, but Spain released the ship and to the survivors and the families of the murdered men paid \$80,000.

Election of 1872. — In May, 1872, the Liberal Republican convention nominated Horace Greeley for President. In July the Democratic convention named the same candidate. Thus did Horace Greeley, a

lifelong foe of the Democratic party, become its champion. The Republican convention meanwhile met in Philadelphia and renominated President Grant. There were other tickets in the field, but they attracted little support.

¹ Originally inclined to be lenient toward the South, President Grant allowed himself to be influenced in favor of harshness. Those received favors from the President who were supported by Benjamin F. Butler, Simon Cameron, or Zachary Chandler, men in whom Grant reposed undue confidence. His attitude toward the civil service led to the resignation of George William Curtis, appointed to carry out the law of 1871, a measure upon which the President at first looked with favor.

Because of his military services Grant had long before won the confidence of the people. To his mistakes they gave little thought. The Democratic nominee, who managed his own campaign, was able and honest though rather tactless. The Republicans devoted themselves mainly to ridiculing Greeley. Grant received 763,000 more votes than were cast for Greeley. In the electoral college he received 286 votes. As Greeley had died soon after election day, the Democratic electors voted for Thomas A. Hendricks and others.

Corruption under Grant. — Blameless himself, Grant's ignorance of public men made it easy to deceive him. Indeed, he was not a successful man of business. Until he entered the Union army he had failed in several enterprises. He had, it is true, served brilliantly in the war with Mexico. Only for a military career had he shown much promise.

To build the Union Pacific Railroad there was formed a construction company known as the Crédit Mobilier (crādē' mō-bēl-yā'). In the short space of one year each owner of a hundred-dollar share in this company received \$60 in cash, first mortgage bonds worth \$230, and railroad stock worth at its face value \$515. These enormous profits aroused suspicion, and suspicion led to an investigation by Congress. Some of its members were owners of shares which had been sold to them on easy terms. Other scandals, showing the corruption of many public officers, also threatened the Republicans with defeat.

A St. Louis supervisor of revenue was convicted and sent to the penitentiary for ten years. Bolknap, Secretary of War, was accused of so managing the appointment of Indian Agent at Fort Sill that for not disturbing the incumbent Mrs. Belknap was during her life to receive \$6000 a year and upon her death that sum was to be paid to the Secretary; an applicant who desired the position withdrew for an additional payment of \$6000 a year. It was plain that if the profits of the office justified an annual outbay of \$12,000 to retain

The "Salary Grab." — On March 3, 1873, when its labors were just ending, Congress passed a law increasing the salaries of the President, the Vice President, and many other officials. To adequate salaries the people did not object, but there was indignation when it was known that Congressmen raised their own salaries from \$5000 a year to \$7500, and that the increase dated back two years. The law, so far as it related to Senators and Representatives, was repealed by the next Congress, and many years passed before Congress again raised the salary to \$7500.

Election of 1876. — In June, 1876, the Republican convention nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President. Roscoe Conkling and other leaders of the party had attempted to gain a third nomination for General Grant, but in Congress the idea of a third term had already been condemned. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for President. By condemning the spoils system and expressing himself in favor of wiping out the distinction between North and South, Hayes appealed to the better element in his party. The election was very closely contested.

Until after midnight of November 6th it was generally believed that Tilden was elected. It was soon known that he would receive 184 undisputed votes, while Hayes was equally sure of 165. From Louisiana, Florida, Oregon, and South Carolina, there came conflicting reports. If the Republican candidates could get all these votes, they would have 185 or a majority of 1, just enough to win the election.

Congress created a special commission to decide the disputed returns. This body, composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the United States

it, some of the Indian tribes had ground for complaint. Belknap was impeached, but the President permitted him to resign. The Senate decided to try him, but did not convict him.

Supreme Court, fifteen in all, was made up of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. By the morning of March 2 all the disputed votes were counted for Hayes, who thus was declared elected.

End of Reconstruction (1877).—Soon after his inauguration President Hayes withdrew the Federal troops from the South, thus bringing to a close the work of reconstruction. Thereafter the South, which had been terribly punished for its secession, was free to manage its own affairs.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Purchase of Alaska. — In 1867 Alaska was purchased from Russia for the sum of \$7,200,000, through a treaty negotiated by Secretary of State Seward. At the time it was looked upon as a foolish transaction; in fact, it was called "Seward's folly." President Johnson, however, was not less interested in acquiring the territory than was his Secretary of State. Time has proved the wisdom of the purchase, for the deposits of coal and gold are now known to be of great value. Alaska is also important for its furs, fish, and timber.

The French Leave Mexico.—At the beginning of the war, Napoleon III, Emperor of France, sent an army into Mexico, overthrew the government, and set up an empire under Maximilian, Archduke of Austria. Being engaged in war, our government could only protest against this violation of the Monroe Doctrine. When the war was over, however, an army under General Sheridan was sent to the Rio Grande, and a demand was made upon France for the recall of her troops. As the United States had the largest body of trained soldiers and the strongest navy in the world, the Emperor of France did not hesitate. When the French soldiers were withdrawn, the Mexicans on June 19, 1867,

captured and shot the unfortunate Maximilian and restored the republic.

Treaty of Washington; the Alabama Claims. — In 1871 there was signed the treaty of Washington, by which the United States and Great Britain agreed to settle by arbitration a number of outstanding questions. The injury to American commerce by the cruisers Alabama, Florida, and others, bought or built in Great Britain, has been mentioned (page 380). In 1872 commissioners met at Geneva, Switzerland, and for such damage awarded the United States \$15,500,000.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions.—How is the period of Reconstruction divided? Discuss the restoration of the seceding states under Lincoln; under Johnson. What was the Joint Committee on Reconstruction? Give an account of the impeachment of President Johnson. Describe the Congressional system of Reconstruction. What happened under the carpetbaggers and negroes? Give an account of the Ku-Klux Klan.

To what party did Grant belong before the war? Discuss conditions in the South. What led to the rise of the Liberal Republican party? What mistake did President Grant make? Describe the election of 1872 and state the result. Name some of the scandals of the period. Discuss the disputed presidential election of 1876. When did the era of Reconstruction end?

What nation entered Mexico during the war and changed its government? How were the *Alabama* claims settled?

References. — Chas. H. McCarthy, Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction; Dunning, Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction; Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress; Stanwood, A History of the Presidency; McKee, National Conventions and Platforms; Wilson, Division and Reunion.

¹ One arbitrator was chosen from each of the following countries: England, the United States, Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil.

CHAPTER XXXI

GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Much of what remains of the story of our Republic will be concerned with the economic development of the United States from 1860 to the present time.

Discovery of Gold and Silver. — In 1858 gold was discovered near Pikes Peak on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. Gold hunters, eager as the Forty-niners in California, swarmed into the country and founded Denver. In 1861 Colorado, which included this favored region, was made a territory. In the same year Kansas, the early battle ground of the proslavery and antislavery forces, was admitted into the Union as a state.¹

In 1859, silver was discovered on Mount Davidson in western Utah. Miners poured in and settled Virginia City. In 1864 this mining camp, with ample boundaries, was admitted as the state of Nevada. In 1863 Idaho, where the precious metals had been found a year earlier, was organized as a territory, and during the following year (1864) Montana, in which gold had been found, was also made a territory. In 1867 Nebraska, from the northern part of which the territory of Dakota had been formed, was admitted as a state. Colorado, the "centennial state," was admitted in 1876.

Transportation. — Before the war Frémont and his father-in-law, Senator Benton, had been considering the building of a railroad across the continent. Still earlier other men not so well known had considered the same proj-

¹ Kansas was not admitted until after the Southern Congressmen had left Washington when their states seceded.

ect. The horse, the stagecoach, and the prairie schooner were the principal means of transcontinental transportation.



OVERLAND MAIL COACH

The last-named conveyance was a long wagon covered



PONY EXPRESS RIDER

with white canvas. The route, beginning in Kansas, followed the Platte River to the Rockies, and crossed the mountains over the South Pass; thence the trail led to great Salt Lake and across the

Sierra Nevada to Sacramento. From each end of this route a four-horse stagecoach started once a week.¹

¹ On another route, through El Paso to the Pacific, the journey required twenty-seven days. Business men desired some swifter means of communi-

The Telegraph. - In June, 1860, Congress chartered the Pacific Telegraph Company, which built a line across the continent. Construction was begun, about the same time, at San Francisco and Omaha, Nebraska. By October, 1861, the section commenced in California was completed as far as Salt Lake City, where it met the part being built toward the west. At that time the charge for a ten-word message from New York to Salt Lake City was \$7.50. After this line was finished, the Pony Express went out of business. Thereafter all letters were sent by the overland stagecoaches, which carried not only mail but express matter and passengers.

Transportation of Freight. — Compared with the present systems of transportation the methods of the decade from 1860 to 1870 were rude. With heavy wagons, hauled by six or eight yoke of oxen, or by as many mule teams, the journey from Kansas to Colorado required five weeks. This so added to the cost of goods that in Virginia City, Nevada, the price of a gallon of oil was \$10, while in Montana, flour sold for \$85 a barrel. All this the railroad later changed.

Railroads. — In 1862 Congress chartered two companies to build a railway from the Missouri River to California. The Union Pacific was pushed westward from Omaha, while the Central Pacific was extending eastward from California. The sections were joined in May, 1869, near Ogden, Utah. This put an end to the overland stagecoach.

cation, and this demand led to the Pony Express, which in ten days carried letters from St. Joseph, Missouri, to San Francisco, a distance of 2000 miles. This miracle of speed was accomplished by relays of riders and of horses. Mounted on a swift pony an expert horseman galloped at top speed to the first relay station, where with his bag of letters he jumped on the back of a fresh pony and again dashed off for the second station. No time was lost in reaching the third. At that point another mounted rider took up the race, for it was a race against time and the record of others, and posted off to cover his three stages in a space shorter than ever before. Two or three times a week riders set out from each end of the route.

The business panic of 1873, which for a time nearly snuffed out the industrial life of the nation, stopped railroad building. Gradually this period of depression passed away. It was soon found that to carry settlers to the new lands and bring back their produce more lines were needed; the construction of new roads was resumed, and by 1910 the total number of miles in this country was 237,000. The railroad systems now represent one seventh of the national wealth and give employment to more than a million and a half of men and women.

Benefits of Railroad Building. — To assist in constructing the railroad to the Pacific, the government gave to the companies large grants of land and liberal sums of money. The land not needed for tracks and stations was sold to settlers. But the railroad did more than connect the people of the Middle West with the Pacific coast. It hastened the settlement of the great region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains.¹

Interstate Commerce Act. — In 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act and established a Commission of five persons to inquire into complaints concerning railroads and to enforce many regulations to secure fair service. This pointed to better methods, but to some extent the railroads evaded the law. Later, therefore, the Interstate

 1 The marvelous growth of the West may be suggested by the following table of populations: $_$

State	1860	1880	1910
Iowa	675,000	1,635,000	2,225,000
Minnesota	172,000	780,000	2,075,000
North Dakota	4,800	135,000	577,000 583,000
Nebraska	28,000	452,000	1,192,000
Kansas	107,000	996,000	1,690,000
California	380,000	864,000	2,377,000

Commerce Commission was given greater powers of control over railroad rates and railroad service. The membership of the Commission was increased to seven.

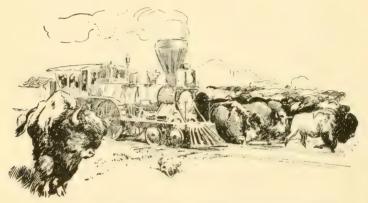
The Homestead Law. — In 1862 Congress passed the Homestead Law. Under its provisions a farm of 80 or of 160 acres in the public domain might be secured by any head of a family or any citizen of the age of twenty-one years, provided he or she would live on the land and cultivate it for five years. So generous was this act that a person who had declared his or her intention to become a citizen of the United States was given its benefits. In a word, no able-bodied person need be landless.

Settling the Prairie. — An attempt to raise wheat was made during 1876 in the valley of the Red River of the North. Its success attracted thousands of settlers to the territory of Dakota, to which many miners had gone still earlier. The newcomers broke up the prairie, sowed wheat, and raised cattle. At first they dwelt in dugouts, caves made in the face of a slope or a hill. The dugout, merely a hole in the ground, was roofed with sod. After living for one or two years in such a dwelling, the settlers built something better.¹

Cattle Raising. — When the immense herds of buffalo had disappeared, their places were taken by great herds of cattle tended by cowboys, and in a short time there grew up an immense business in cattle raising. Sometimes the animals grazed on public lands, sometimes on estates which

With the building of railroads and the coming of white men began the reckless slaughter of buffalo and the crowding of the Indian. To the Indian the struggle for a livelihood became harder. Of the millions of "hump-backed cows" that once cropped the grass of the prairies it is said that in all the West there is left but one small herd. A few years ago the traveler could see in places the trails and the wallows of the buffalo, but the paths once trodden by myriads of these animals are becoming more and more difficult to trace. In both East and West, as everyone knows, a few of these animals may yet be seen in zoölogical gardens or public parks.

though private were vast in extent. From Dakota to Arizona extended the grazing country, over which roamed the great herds of cattle, driven, pasturing on the way, to the railroads to be taken to market. In the development of the West the cowboy, picturesque in manner and appearance, played a useful part. But now most of the old cattle range has been divided into farms.



RAILROAD TRAIN PASSING A HERD OF BUFFALO, ABOUT 1870

The Indians. — Indian uprisings were closely connected with the wanton slaughter by white men of the great herds of buffalo. Not only have the buffaloes been swept from the prairies but from wide regions the Indians themselves have vanished. The student is not to conclude from this that the native races of America are soon to disappear. Millions of Indians are still to be seen in all the lands between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn. In the West Indies, indeed, they were not spared by the Spaniards, but the efforts of Las Casas saved them on the mainland. In our original states, however, few remained.

Father De Smet, S.J. — In the limits of a school book there is not space even to suggest the nature of Catholic missionary work. During the year 1850 Father De Smet, S.J., with two associates founded the mission of St. Mary in the Bitter Root Reservation, and that of St. Ignatius on the Jocko Reservation, in what is now the state of Montana. Twenty years of toil were marked by failure, but that spiritual hero was not discouraged. A different system was tried with almost perfect success. Under the Jesuits the Indian, separated from the members of his tribe, soon became a Christian as well as an industrious workman. Because of the sacrifices of Father De Smet and his associates the traveler may behold in the Flathead Reservation, Montana, herds of cattle and horses, confortable homes, and industrious Indians.

Indian Discontent. — Though the United States government had set apart for the sole use of the tribes many fine tracts of land, greedy white men often entered the reservations and shamefully disregarded the rights of the Indians. Dishonest agents, too, failed to deliver to the tribes all the supplies intended for them by Congress. As we have seen, other white men were engaged in the wanton slaughter of buffaloes. This treatment finally led the Indians to murder settlers and run off their horses and cattle. In 1862 the Sioux, in Minnesota, gave much trouble, and a few years later (1866) were restless in Montana. General Crook, in 1872, conducted a campaign against the Apaches, of Arizona.¹

¹ About the same time (1872) the Modocs under their chief, Captain Jack, refused to remain on their reservation, and when General Canby was sent against them retreated to the Lava Beds in northern California. There they resisted the United States troops, many of whom were picked off by Indian sharpshooters hidden behind rocks and bushes. An effort was made to talk to them. While General Canby and two commissioners, all unarmed, were trying to arrange terms of peace with the chief and his followers,

The Custer Massacre. — Still more serious was the war against the Sioux in the summer of 1876, when Sitting Bull. Crazy Horse, and other leaders refused to enter a reservation selected for them. The government resolved to use force and sent a body of troops against them. In June. Lieutenant Colonel Custer with 600 men pursued Sitting Bull into the valley of the Little Big Horn River in Mon-



tana. There he made the fatal mistake of dividing his force, which was already small. With a diminished band, 262 men, Custer came suddenly upon an army of 2500 warriors. These stampeded his horses. which ran off with the ammunition bags. Although outnumbered ten to one, the little band of regulars fought bravely, but in twentyfive minutes not one of them was left alive.

The South after Reconstruction. — War had interrupted the agriculture of the South, destroyed its commerce, and swept away its industrial system. Speedy recovery was prevented, as we have seen, by the "carpetbag" and negro governments. It should be remembered, however, that many Northerners who went South settled in that section for the purpose of developing its wonderful resources.

Indians rushed treacherously upon the party and shot Canby and one of the commissioners. In the summer of 1873 the hostile band was captured, when Captain Jack with three other leaders were tried, convicted, and hanged.

as they associated with Yankee officials and sympathized with negroes they were not welcomed, and for this reason their plans generally failed. Nevertheless, in time Northern capital built cotton mills, which were largely operated by the "poor whites" of the South. In these factories great numbers of children, neglected by the laws, found employment. As early as 1880 the factories of this section produced about one fourth as much as New England. Their growth was rapid, and by 1915 they were manufacturing more than half of the cotton grown in the United States.

Mechanical Progress. - The period between 1860 and 1880 was remarkable for the number and value of its inventions. In the field of electricity ingenious men have accomplished wonders. The Bell telephone, Edison's electric light, the searchlight, and the electric motor, have made themselves indispensable. To the same epoch belongs the invention of the compressed-air drill, the Westinghouse air brake, the steam shovel, and the steam derrick. Barbed wire came into extensive use for fencing. The typewriter has not only enabled awkward folk to write legibly but has made it possible for anyone to do more work than can be done by even an expert penman. In those years there were many engineering feats of note, one of the most useful being that of James B. Eads, who built, at the mouth of the Mississippi, jetties which, by increasing the velocity of the current, forced the great river to clean out its own channel. Later came the building, over the East River, of a great suspension bridge from Brooklyn to New York.

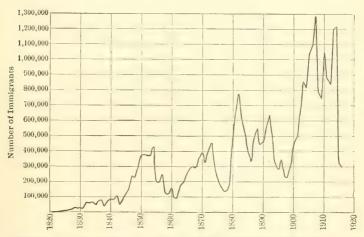
Every decade since 1880 has also been marked by important inventions. Countless improvements were made in the telephone, the telegraph, and all kinds of machinery. Wireless telegraphy was made a success by William Marconi, an Italian, about 1895; but other scientists and inventors developed the theory and improved the apparatus.

The increasing use of electricity for lighting and the transmission of power was one of the most notable features of this period. Trolley cars were developed about 1890, and within twenty-five years electric power was used also for driving many railroad trains, as well as for driving machinery of many kinds. For the production of the electricity dynamos could be operated either by steam power or by water power; and scores of great dams were built for this purpose, of which the longest was the dam across the Mississippi River at Keokuk, Iowa. The Niagara Falls have long yielded an immense amount of power.

Automobiles and Airplanes. — In this most recent period, also, was developed the internal-combustion or gas engine, far lighter than the steam engine in proportion to the power produced. This not only led to the remarkable growth of the automobile industry in our country, but also made possible the airplane, an American invention. Important experiments were made by Professor J. J. Montgomery of California, Professor S. P. Langley, and others; but the first successful airplane was made by the Wright brothers of Dayton, Ohio, and patented in 1906. Improved by scores of inventors, many thousands of airplanes were used for various purposes in the Great War of 1914-1918. The airplane mail service in this country was begun in 1918. The first airplane to fly across the Atlantic was an Americanbuilt naval machine, which flew from Newfoundland to the Azores May 18-19, 1919, and later proceeded to Portugal and England.

Industrial Development. — It was soon after the Civil War that many useful articles began to be manufactured on a large scale. Instead of making by patient toil an occasional pair of boots, as shoemakers used to do, boots and shoes were turned out in great factories, by cases and hundreds of cases. This increase was made possible by

the use of improved machinery and a large supply of labor. Not only boots and shoes but hats and all articles of clothing were made in factories. Planing mills, with their improved machinery, turned whole forests into shingles, sashes, flooring, doors, and other materials for building. Rugs and carpets were no longer made by hand looms but by power looms. We have seen that the harvester, the reaper, and other agricultural machinery made possible the raising of immense quantities of grain. Without such machinery Minneapolis would be without its great flour mills. Other large-scale products of that period were iron, steel, oil, ships, and locomotives.



NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN THE UNITED STATES EACH YEAR

Immigration. — Even with the invention of labor-saving machinery the modern industrial growth would have been impossible without an abundance of labor. Skilled workmen, it is true, were not lacking in the United States, but unskilled workmen also were needed. This want was supplied by a stream of immigrants, as it has been in the whole

history of the country. Immigration was more or less constant till 1820, when the number of yearly arrivals exceeded 10,000. During the thirty years following there was a steady increase. The prosperity of this country led Europeans to think of coming hither, while the improvement in ocean transportation stripped the voyage of most of its terrors and its dangers. Though the crews, and occasionally the officers of immigrant ships, were often rough and sometimes brutal, this disadvantage was but a passing experience.

Coming of the Irish. — In the situation described, when America was prosperous and transportation better than ever before, Ireland was disturbed by the insurrection of 1848. This was followed by much political unrest. Moreover, there had been famine in all the land. Both causes brought to the United States many hundred thousand Irish, mostly Catholics in religion. The beginnings of Irish immigration are often fixed at 1840, but large numbers of Irish had settled in the English colonies before the Revolutionary War. While a majority of them were Presbyterians from Ulster, many Catholics had come from that as well as other provinces. In the decade beginning in 1830 the number of Irish immigrants was 781,000, while in that from 1840 to 1850 it rose to 914,000. Under American conditions multitudes prospered.

German Immigration. — Long before the Revolution, Germans had colonized whole counties in Pennsylvania and in large numbers had settled New York. This tide of immigration ceased and many years passed before it began again. Among the German immigrants who came after the revolutions of 1848 some were Catholics and some were Protestants. The Germans did not take so active a part in politics or in party management as the Irish, and moreover great numbers of them settled in the West, where they

bought farms and before long were prosperous and influential citizens.

Recent Immigration. — During the Civil War immigration almost ceased; but after the war it was larger than ever. By 1880 immigrants were arriving at the rate of 750,000 a year, and by 1905 the annual number passed the million mark. During those years there came great numbers of Scandinavians, who settled principally in the Northwest. After 1890 the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe rapidly increased. These included Italians, Russian Jews and Russian Gentiles, Pôles, Hungarians, Bohemians, and others.

New States. — Growth in population, with the aid of railroads, led to the rapid settling of the remaining territories. In 1889, North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington were admitted as states; Idaho and Wyoming in 1890; and Utah, the forty-fifth state, in 1896. These states were followed within a few years by the admission of Oklahoma (1907) and New Mexico and Arizona (1912), thus completing the forty-eight.

Census of 1910.— The population of the country in 1910, exclusive of outlying possessions, was nearly 92,000,000.

Catholic Population. — As we have seen, about 70,000 Catholics were to be found in the United States toward the close of Archbishop Carroll's career. In 1918, a little more than one hundred years later, its Catholic population had increased to 17,416,303, a number of persons far greater than in the beginning of the nineteenth century obeyed many of the rulers of Europe. The Catholic Church in this country had not only grown in membership, but its organization had developed wonderfully. The spiritual needs of its millions were the immediate care of 20,477 clergymen connected with 15,817 places of worship. There were in 1918 ninety-three bishops and thirteen archbishops, of whom

three were cardinals, his Eminence, James Cardinal Gibbons, Archibishop of Baltimore, his Eminence, John Cardinal Farley, Archibishop of New York, and his Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston.

Catholic Education. — Altogether, American Catholics support more than 200 colleges for boys, while the number of academies for girls is over three times as great. Many orders of priests, the Jesuits, the Congregation of Holy Cross, the Paulists, the Marists, and other societies maintain colleges which offer splendid courses of instruction. For generations the Christian Brothers, of whom many are able educators, have been graduating young men trained in religion and well fitted for the duties of citizenship. Various communities of nuns likewise conduct excellent colleges.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Describe the systems of transportation before the war; also the Pacific Telegraph Company. What is said of the benefits of railroad building? Explain the Homestead Law. Account for the Indian uprisings. Who was Father De Smet, S.J.? Tell the story of the Custer massacre. Describe the South after Reconstruction. Illustrate the mechanical progress between 1860 and 1880. Between 1880 and the present. What kept up the supply of labor in those periods? After 1880 what countries supplied immigrants? How many states were there in the Union in 1896? Describe the growth of the Catholic Church.

References. — Garner and Lodge, The United States (History of the Nations), Vol. II; Carl Russell Fish, Development of American Nationality and American Diplomacy; Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress; Harry Thurston Peck, Twenty Years of the Republic.

¹ Official Catholic Directory of Messrs. Kennedy and Sons.

CHAPTER XXXII

INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (1873–1897)

The Panic of 1873. - - The eight years following the close of the war formed a period of unusual prosperity. Since 1869 some 24,000 miles of railroad had been constructed. As long as the railroad companies could sell their bonds, all went well. But in 1871 the city of Chicago was almost destroyed by fire and in the following year (1872) Boston suffered severely from the same cause. To rebuild the burned sections of both cities much money was needed. Under these conditions the railroad companies were unable to sell their bonds, and with the failure of Jay Cooke and Company, of Philadelphia, bankers supporting the Northern Pacific Railroad, a panic began. Not only bankers but many mill owners and business men in other lines went into bankruptcy. Factories reduced wages or closed their doors. Many able-bodied men traveled the country in a vain search for employment. "Tramps," begging for food or clothing as they traversed the highways, for the first time were seen in great numbers.

The Centennial Exposition. — The year 1876 brought round the one hundredth anniversary of American independence. To commemorate the close of the first century in the life of the nation an exposition was held in the city of Philadelphia. First planned as a great fair for the display of the products of American industries and arts, an invitation to participate was later sent to foreign nations, more than thirty of which took part. The display of manufactures opened to tens of thousands of Americans new

possibilities in industries and arts. It likewise strengthened national feeling and good will. Memorial Hall and Horticultural Hall, two of the large exhibition buildings, still stand in Philadelphia.

Strikes of 1877. — In the summer of 1877 there occurred among the employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad a strike which soon spread to other systems and brought about a condition of industrial paralysis. Traffic was stopped and in the Pittsburgh riots property to the value of millions of dollars was destroyed and some lives were lost.

Specie Payment Act. — During the war and for a long time afterward, a five-dollar bill was not equal in value to a five-dollar gold piece. To make them of equal value Congress decided to resume specie payment; that is, to redeem the bills in coin. The fractional currency, of the denominations of 5, 10, 15, 25, and 50 cents, was first called in by the treasury and exchanged for 10, 25, and 50-cent silver coins. After January 1, 1879, all greenbacks were to be redeemed in specie. As John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, made the necessary preparations, gold and paper were of the same value before January 1, 1879, and when this fact became known, most people did not take the trouble to exchange their paper bills for gold or silver.

In 1873 Congress stopped the coinage of silver dollars. Five years latter it passed, over the veto of President Haves, the Bland-Allison Act, which required the Secretary of the Treasury to buy each month and coin into silver dollars, silver bullion to the value of not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000. In twelve years nearly 370,000,-000 silver dollars were coined. Then the Sherman act was passed, calling for the purchase of more silver; but in 1893 the purchase of silver was stopped. All our money has been kept equal to gold in value.

Chinese Immigration Restricted. After the discovery of gold in California, Chinese began to settle in that region. By the seventies they were becoming numerous. Prejudice against them was strong, not only because of their strange manners and customs, but because their standard of living enabled them to work for lower wages than a white man would accept. The movement against the Chinese, begun in San Francisco by workingmen, was in time so strong for Chinese exclusion that in 1879 Congress passed a bill restricting the immigration of that race. Because it

violated an existing treaty with China, President Hayes vetoed the measure. However, in 1880 he framed a new treaty, which was acceptable to China and still left Congress free to regulate the immigration of Chinese laborers. By a law passed in 1881 they have been to a considerable extent prevented from coming to this country.

Election of 1880. — In June, 1880, a Republican convention nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President and Chester A. Arthur, of New York,



JAMES A. GARFIELD

for Vice President. Later in the same month the Democratic convention selected for its standard bearers General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, and William H. English, of Indiana. Though General Hancock had a splendid military record in the Civil War, the Republicans won the election, chiefly on the issue that a protective tariff would make the country more prosperous than a tariff for revenue.

¹ The popular vote cast for Hancock was nearly as great as that received by Garfield, but the former received only 155 electoral votes as against 214 for the latter.

Assassination of Garfield.— The inauguration of Garfield and Arthur took place on March 4, 1881. Four months later, July 2, 1881, while offering payment for railroad tickets at a station in Washington, President Garfield was shot in the back by a disappointed office seeker. For a time the President was kept at the White House, but in the course of the summer he was removed to Elberon, New Jersey, where on the 19th of September he died of his wound. The surgical skill of that day could not locate the assassin's bullet.

General Arthur, the Vice President, took the oath of office as President, and filled out the unexpired term of General Garfield. During this administration several important laws were passed.

Punishment for Polygamy. — In their first platform (1856) the Republicans had declared it to be the duty of Congress "to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." We have seen how slavery was abolished, but polygamy still flourished among the Mormons in Utah. In 1882 and again in 1887 Congress enacted legislation, some of which provided heavy penalties for polygamy. The practice, if not destroyed, is expected soon to disappear.

Civil Service. — George H. Pendleton, an able Democratic Senator from Ohio, introduced into Congress a bill which aimed at conferring office on the ground of fitness and not because of party service. This law of 1883 provided for the creation of a Civil Service Commission with authority to direct the examination of candidates for appointment. The average of efficiency among clerks has greatly risen since the passage of the law; but even yet the system is not perfect.¹

¹ As early as 1871 there had been an attempt to reform the civil service, but it did not receive sufficient support.

Presidential Succession Act. — At the time of President Garfield's death, in September, 1881, Congress was not in session. If Vice President Arthur had died before the President, the United States would have been without a Chief Executive. To provide for such an emergency Congress passed (1886) the Presidential Succession Act. This provides that in case of vacancies in the office of both President and Vice President, the Secretary of State becomes President; or if there be no Secretary of State, then the Secretary of the Treasury; or if none, the Secretary of War, and so on with other members of the Cabinet. In a word, they succeed in the order in which their departments were created.

The Navy. — In the Garfield-Arthur administration Secretary Hunt discovered that after the Civil War the navy had been grossly neglected. It was then (1881) de-

cided to begin the construction of a new navy. The Atlanta, the Boston, and the Chicago were soon afloat. Later under both Democratic and Republican administrations the navy continued to grow until it has become one of the great navies of the world.

President Cleveland. — In 1884 the Republican party nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for President. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York.



GROVER CLEVELAND

Nominations were made also by the Greenback party and the Prohibition party. Cleveland received 219 electoral votes to 182 for Blaine. He was inaugurated March 4, 1885. Twenty-four years had passed since a Democratic President had held that office. Though the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives during President

Cleveland's term, by a slight majority the Senate continued Republican. As both parties favored the legislation demanded by labor, three important laws were passed: (1) An act of 1885 forbade any person or company to bring aliens into the United States under contract to perform labor or service; the object of this law was to protect American laborers and not force them to compete with cheap contract labor. (2) There was created an Interstate Com-



STATUE OF LIBERTY

merce Commission (page 412). (3) A Bureau in charge of a Commissioner of Labor was established for the purpose of diffusing among the people of the United States useful information on labor and on related subjects. This official has also done much to prevent strikes by adjusting disputes between employers and employees.

Statue of Liberty.— In October, 1886, there was unveiled on Bedloe's Island, New

York harbor, a statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World." It was designed by M. Bartholdi and paid for by the contributions of 100,000 citizens of France, a country which had recently regained a republican form of government. The pedestal was built with money raised in the United States. This statue renewed the ancient feeling of gratitude to France, the oldest friend of our Republic.

Election of 1888. In the summer of 1888 the Democrats renominated Grover Cleveland for President. The Republicans named Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, a grandson of President William Henry Harrison. The Democrats called for a tariff for revenue only; that is, a tariff that would raise enough money to meet the expenses of government economically conducted. The Republicans favored a tariff for protection and elected their candidates.

Republicans Avoid a Sectional Issue. — When the Republicans gained control of the government, they unseated, on the ground that the negroes of the South had been prevented from voting, a large number of Democratic members and gave their places to Republican Representatives. Permanently to improve conditions in that section Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, framed a Force Bill, which failed to pass. After 1890 there was no attempt by Congress to interfere with elections in the Southern States.

The Treasury Surplus. — The \$150,000,000 surplus in the Treasury, which had confronted President Cleveland when he first entered office, was soon dispersed by the demands of recent pension legislation, the appropriations for the Navy, and the refunding to the states of about twenty millions, which during the Civil War had been laid on them as a direct tax.

The McKinley Tariff. — Perhaps the most important measure of Harrison's administration was the passage in 1890 of the McKinley tariff bill. By it the duty was greatly increased on imported articles which competed with those of American manufacture, while that on raw materials was taken off. As this would affect the interests of sugar growers, for compensation they were given a bounty. This measure somewhat diminished the public revenue, and, the Democrats insisted, favored the growth of trusts. That

party, therefore, would undermine the trusts by a low tariff. The Republicans, on the other hand, attempted to reach the same end by the passage of restraining laws.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law. — The need had long been felt of a law to restrain great combinations of capital which destroyed competition and forced the small scale business man out of trade. For a dozen years there had been much protest against such conduct, and many states had passed laws on this subject when Senator John Sherman introduced into Congress a measure which, after many changes, was passed in 1890. This law gave to the courts, in the cases coming before them, the power to declare void any contract in restraint of trade and thus injurious to the public. For reasons not at all clear this measure was allowed during many years to sleep unapplied.

Foreign Relations. — During the single term of President Harrison there were one or two diplomatic incidents of interest, but both were amicably adjusted. There was said to have existed in New Orleans an Italian secret society known as the "Maffia." The local chief of police, because of his activity against its members, was murdered. Eleven of them were tried for the crime. Though there appears to have been little doubt of their guilt, the jury failed or feared to convict them. Upon this an angry crowd broke into the jail, seized the prisoners, and put them to death. Three of the slain were subjects of the king of Italy, who demanded redress for the outrage. Mr. Blaine, our Secretary of State, denied that the United States was responsible, but in the end we paid an indemnity of \$25,000.

In the autumn of 1891 the people of Chile were in the midst of a civil war. For some reason the insurgents believed that Mr. Patrick Egan, the American minister, sympathized with their foes. This begot a feeling of hostility against him personally and against all Americans.

When the men of the cruiser *Baltimore* went on shore at Valparaiso, they were set upon by the populace and fled for their lives. In this unprovoked attack two of the crew were killed and many injured. When our government demanded redress, Chile paid \$75,000.

Cleveland's Second Term. — In 1892 the Republicans renominated Harrison. For the third time the Democrats selected Grover Cleveland for their standard bearer. The People's Party nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa. The cost of the government under the Republicans subjected them to much criticism. When the result was known, it was found that Cleveland received 277 electoral votes to 145 for Harrison and 22 for Weaver. The Democrats also gained control of both branches of Congress.

When Cleveland was inaugurated, the country was suffering from great business depression. This led the President to convoke Congress in special session. That body stopped the purchase of silver (page 424). But the panic did not at once cease. In this condition Congress, controlled by the Democrats, assembled in December, 1893.

- In 1890 Congress passed what was popularly known as the Dependent Pension Bill. By its provisions all honorably discharged soldiers and sailors who served in the Civil War for ninety days or more, and suffered from disability when they applied for pensions, were to be paid a monthly sum of not less than \$6 and not more than \$12. Under the act of 1862, to be entitled to pension one must have received a wound or injury in the service and in line of duty, or have contracted disease in the service. After the passage of the new law the payment for pensions amounted at one time to \$165,000,000 a year.
- ² Many Americans of middle age remember to have seen beside the ballot box a superintendent of some shipyard, factory, or mine, who watched his employees approach a polling place and as they came up offered each a ticket. If the laborer in his employ put that ballot into the box, the fact would be remembered to his advantage. If, however, he took a folded ticket from his pocket and offered that to the election officers, his act would not be forgotten. To protect the voter, therefore, the secret or Australian ballot was introduced in 1888 and, beginning with Massachusetts, soon won its way among the states.

The Income Tax Law. — To revise the tariff, Congress passed the Wilson Bill. As the new measure might not yield enough money to defray government expenses, a section of the law provided for a tax of two per cent on all yearly incomes of \$4000 and upwards. Citizens refused to pay the tax and took the matter into the United States Supreme Court, which, in 1895, decided that the law was unconstitutional.

Bering Sea Dispute. — There had long existed between the United States and Great Britain a disagreement over the question of the ownership of seals in Bering Sea. An arbitration court, which met in Paris (1893), decided against the United States, but measures were taken to prevent the extermination of those valuable animals.

Samoa and Hawaii. — For some time brave American whalers had kept the stars and stripes flying in the Pacific. With the acquisition by the United States of the Southwest, of Oregon, and of Alaska, Yankee ships were often seen, and there grew up with China and Japan a valuable trade. In 1878 our government offered its friendship to the rulers of the Samoan Islands. During the first term of President Cleveland they got into trouble with Great Britain and Germany. By an arrangement agreed to in Berlin, the United States joined those great powers in recognizing the independence of Samoa (1889–1900).

After 1842 the Hawaiian Islands had been regarded as coming under the protection of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1892 a revolution there led to the establishment of a republic, which applied for annexation to the United States. A treaty providing for such a step was favored by President Harrison, but was withdrawn by his successor, who sought to restore Liliuokalani, the deposed queen of the islands. The people, however, resisted and in 1894 established a republic, which President Cleveland recognized.

Election of 1896. — In 1896, a convention of the Republican party selected as its candidate for President, William McKinley, of Ohio. The Democratic convention nomi-



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

nated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska. To the financial plank in its platform there was much opposition. That demanded "the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." Against this part of the platform 301 delegates voted, thus foreshadowing a split in the Democratic party.²

After an exciting campaign, in which nearly 14,000,000 citizens voted, McKinley was elected.

The Dingley Tariff. — In July, 1897, the Republicans, in fulfillment of their promise to revise the tariff, passed the Dingley Act, which was approved by President McKinley.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — State some of the causes and the results of the panic of 1873. What was the Centennial Exposition? What was the specie payment act? What is the American attitude toward

- ¹ Our country has always had free coinage of gold; that is, anybody can take gold to the mint and exchange it for the same amount of coin. The free coinage of silver was stopped in 1873, at a time when that metal was more than one-sixteenth as valuable as gold. In 1896 it was less than one-thirtieth as valuable as gold.
- ² In September a convention of the "National Democratic" party nominated John M. Palmer, of Illinois. On the other hand, the People's Party and the "Silver Party" had nominated Bryan. There were also Prohibition, Socialist-Labor, and other tickets.

the Chinese? Give an account of the Presidential election of 1880. Describe the assassination of President Garfield and state the results. What is the Civil Service law of 1883? The Presidential Succession Act?

Who was chosen President in 1884? Name some important laws passed during his first term. What event renewed the memory of the friendship of France? When was General Harrison elected? Name some events of Harrison's administration. What is the object of the Australian ballot? What was the result of the split in the Democratic party in 1896? Tell about the revolution in Hawaii.

References. — Wilson, Division and Reunion (Epochs of American History); The United States, Article in The Catholic Encyclopedia by C. H. McCarthy; James G. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress; Harry Thurston Peck, Twenty Years of the Republic.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN AND LATER EVENTS (1898-1912)

Discontent in Cuba. — So unwisely was Cuba ruled by Spain that there was great unrest in the island, and frequent rebellion. Our country was interested in Cuba because of its situation just off our shores, and later because our people had invested their money in its mines, railroads, and plantations. Moreover, there were in the United States many citizens of Cuban brein, who, with their American sympathizers, fitted out in our ports military expeditions to assist in freeing Cuba.

In 1895 there broke out a new rebellion which, Spain claimed, would soon die out if it were deprived of American support. What our country chiefly objected to was the harsh system adopted by Spanish officials in order to suppress the outbreak.¹

Causes of War. — In 1898 there was published in the United States a letter in which the Spanish minister mentioned President McKinley in a manner not complimentary. This and other incidents were straining the relations between the two countries, when the battleship *Maine* was sent to the harbor of Havana. While her visit appeared to be friendly, for Americans were at that moment sending

Against the reconcentrado policy of General Weyler there was indignant protest. That commander assembled in large camps many people from the surrounding country. The lands from which they had been removed were wasted so that the rebels would find no support. Those confined in camps were underfed, and at first the Spaniards would not admit relief from the United States. With little Spanish success the war in Cuba, much criticized in the United States, dragged on.

medicine and food to the Cubans, perhaps one purpose was to show that the disagreement with Spain had become serious. On February 15, 1898, the *Maine* was blown up and 260 sailors were killed. Believing that this atrocity was the act of Spanish officials, the American people called for war. Spain promised to satisfy nearly all American demands, and, like Cleveland, President McKinley favored peace. However, Congress was for war, and its attitude was approved by the people.

On April 11 the President recommended forcible inter-



CUBA AND PORTO RICO

vention. Congress not only acted upon his advice but on the 19th acknowledged the independence of Cuba, though the rebel government had no

capital and no fixed territory.² This action was followed by war with Spain.

Conquest of the Philippines. — After the war broke out, the chief ports of Cuba were blockaded by a fleet that had been stationed at Key West. Another squadron, under Commodore George Dewey, was at Hongkong, in Chinese waters (map, page 441). That officer was ordered to find the Spanish fleet in the Pacific. It was soon located. Running, under cover of darkness, past the forts at the entrance

 $^{^1}$ To this day it is not certainly known whether the destruction of the Maine was caused by Cuban or by Spanish treachery.

² When Congress acknowledged Cuban independence, it put an end to all hope of annexation, for it had helped to make of the island a new nation. If its independence had not been acknowledged, Cuba could have been annexed when the war was over.

of Manila Bay, Dewey's ships encountered the Spanish fleet on May 1, 1898. Without the loss of a man his superior

gunnery destroyed all the vessels of the enemy.

At that moment many of the Filipinos were in revolt against Spain. Their leader, Aguinaldo, for a time united with the Americans and besieged Manila. Later General Merritt with 20,000 men was sent across the Pacific to occupy the Philippines.

Cervera's Fleet. — While these events were in progress, Admiral Cervera (ther-va'rah) sailed from the Cape Verde Islands, crossed the Atlantic, and entered the harbor of Santiago, in Cuba. There he



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was found by the American fleet. The narrow entrance to that port was guarded by strong forts.¹

Battles of El Caney and San Juan. — As Cervera could not be successfully attacked by water, it was decided to disembark soldiers near Santiago and by a land attack force him to leave the harbor. Meanwhile the American fleet commanded by Acting Rear Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley (slī) waited outside. On June 22 General Shafter began to land soldiers near Santiago. By assault

¹ To prevent the escape of the Spanish vessels, Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson with a volunteer crew of seven took the collier Merrimac into a narrow part of the channel and sank her. The plan was well conceived and bravely attempted, but the fire of the forts injured the steering apparatus of the Merrimac so that her commander was not able to sink her precisely where he had intended. This left a part of the passage still open.

on July 1 they took the strong Spanish posts of El Caney (kah-nā) and San Juan (hwahn). In this fighting General Joseph Wheeler, an ex-Confederate officer, and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, in command of the Rough Riders, particularly distinguished themselves.

The fall of Santiago seemed so certain that on July 3 Admiral Cervera made a dash for the open sea. Then occurred a running fight in which, after a few hours, every one of the Spanish vessels was destroyed. The American fleet escaped without serious injury.

Deprived of the assistance of the fleet, the Spanish com-



BLOCKHOUSE ON SAN JUAN HILL

mander, General Toral, a few weeks later, surrendered the city of Santiago and a considerable Spanish army.

Porto Rico.—
Another Spanish colony was the valuable island of Porto Rico. With a strong force General Miles set off to conquer it. Landing near Ponce (pōn'thā) on August 1, 1898, he was advancing across the island when the war came to an end.

Treaty of Paris, 1898. — Through the French minister in Washington, Spain inquired on what terms the United States would consent to make peace. The terms were

stated by President McKinley. On December 10, 1898, was signed the treaty of Paris, which four months later went into force. By its provisions Spain withdrew from Cuba, and ceded Porto Rico, Guam (one of the Ladrone Islands), and the Philippines to the United States. In return the United States paid Spain \$20,000,000.

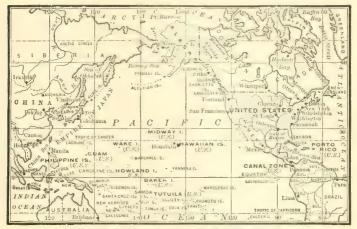
Annexation of Hawaiian Islands. — The desire of Hawaii for annexation to the United States has been mentioned (page 433). The possibility of our holding the Philippines gave a new importance to the Hawaiian Islands, and during the progress of the war with Spain, in July, 1898, they were annexed. Two years later they were formed into the territory of Hawaii.²

Cuba. — We have seen that war with Spain began when Congress acknowledged the independence of Cuba. Therefore, when the United States was victorious, Cuba was free. For a time, however, the American army remained in control, and introduced some sanitary and other reforms. Meanwhile the Cubans elected delegates to a convention and framed a constitution. When this was adopted and a president elected, our army was withdrawn (May 20, 1902). To prevent the island's falling into the hands of European

¹ On August 12 an agreement was signed which provided (1) that hostilities should immediately cease, (2) that Spain should withdraw from Cuba and cede to the United States, Porto Rico and an island in the Ladrones, and (3) that until peace was signed and the fate of the Philippines was settled the harbor of Manila should be held by us. Before tidings reached the East that steps toward peace were being taken, a combined attack of Dewey's fleet and Merritt's army had captured the city of Manila on August 13.

² Soon after the annexation of Hawaii a number of small islands in the Pacific were acquired by the United States. Early in 1899, Wake Island was taken over. Part of the Samoa group was acquired by a joint treaty with Great Britain and Germany, in the year 1900. Many other islets in the Pacific, mere rocks or coral reefs, among them the Midway Islands, were, at different times, taken up. These are valuable for telegraph and coaling stations.





THE UNITED STATES AND ITS POSSESSIONS

powers, however, the Platt Amendment places some restraints on Cuba.

Porto Rico. — Porto Rico was made practically a colony of the United States. For it Congress provided a system of civil government, which went into effect on May 1, 1900. This consisted of a governor and executive council appointed by the President, and a House of Delegates elected by the people. A commissioner representing the island resides in Washington, D. C. In 1917 the Porto Ricans were made citizens of the United States and were given the right to elect both houses of their legislature.¹

War in the Philippines. — When the Philippine Islands were acquired by the United States, the Filipino leader Aguinaldo demanded that they be turned over to his party, and when this was refused, he attacked our troops. In many battles the natives were defeated and Aguinaldo was finally captured.

¹ Three of the Virgin Islands, east of Porto Rico, were purchased from Denmark in 1916, for \$25,000,000.

Government and People of Philippines. — The Philippine group, discovered by Magellan, includes, large and small, about 2000 islands, with a population of about 8,000,000. Of these more than half a million are savages, many possess the elements of civilization, and still others are highly civilized. For some time the islands were ruled by the President through the army and afterward by a commission whose members he appointed. This commission, with Judge William Howard Taft as its president. began its work in June, 1900. Two years later Congress



FILIPINOS HULLING RICE

provided for the island a new system of government. This included a governor and a legislature of two branches, one of which was chosen by the Filipinos. In 1916 the Filipinos were given the right

to elect both houses, and Congress declared its intention to give the Philippines independence as soon as a stable government should be established therein.

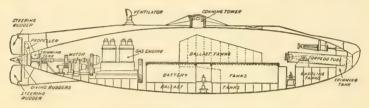
The Hague Agreements. — In response to an invitation of the Emperor of Russia delegates from many nations met at The Hague, Holland, in 1899, and again in 1907. Several agreements were entered into. One of these covenants revised the rules of war and forbade the use of poison, of projectiles dropped from balloons, and of bullets which expand in the human body. Another provided for a perma-

nent court of arbitration at The Hague. Before that tribunal international disputes might be brought with the consent of the governments concerned.

The "Pious Fund of the Californias." - Cruel calumnies believed by the king of Spain, had led in 1767 to the expulsion from the southwest of all members of the Society of Jesus. Their work in that region had been in the peninsula of lower California. As was their custom, they instructed the Indians not only in the principles of Christianity and other elements of knowledge but also in the useful arts. Zealous persons had given money to maintain this important work in all the country known as California. By a decree of 1842 this fund was taken by the Mexican government, which, in order to carry out the intention of the donors, undertook to pay interest thereon. But when, in 1848, upper California was sold to the United States, the Mexican government refused to pay the share of interest to which that region was entitled. However, an umpire awarded nearly \$100,000 to the bishops of California as administrators of the fund. But after October, 1868, Mexico again withheld the interest. Thereupon, on behalf of the bishops, our government made an unsuccessful claim against Mexico. Finally the case was satisfactorily settled in October, 1902, by the Hague Tribunal, to which it had been carried. The subject is interesting not only because of its historical associations but because it was the first case decided by that court. It likewise illustrates the enlightened method of settling international disputes by arbitration. The example of the United States was significant.

The Submarine. — On March 17, 1898, there was given in New York harbor the first test of the diving abilities of the Holland No. 9, a submarine vessel invented by John Patrick Holland. Later it was shown that without endangering the lives of its crew the submarine could remain under water for

a week. During the war with Spain (1898), Mr. Holland requested of the Secretary of the Navy permission to enter Santiago harbor and sink the fleet of Cervera. But our navy had then no knowledge of submarines and the application of the inventor was not considered. In 1900 this model of design and workmanship, the *Holland No. 9*, was sold to the



HOLLAND SUBMARINE OF 1901

Navy Department for \$150,000. Its inventor was a young Irishman, who came to this country in 1868. While teachin a parochial school at Paterson, New Jersey, Holland began work on his invention, which seems likely to have even more influence upon naval warfare than the *Monitor* of Ericsson. Simon Lake, another inventor, perfected a different type of under-sea vessel.

Election of 1900. — The Republican convention nominated William McKinley and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt for President and Vice President. The Democrats selected William J. Bryan and Adlai Stevenson. In addition to the nominees of the two great parties there were eight or nine other conventions which named candidates for President and Vice President. From the forty-five states the Republican candidates received 292 electoral votes and the Democratic 155.

McKinley Assassinated. — During the summer of 1901 an exposition held in Buffalo was attended by President McKinley. Many of the visitors shook hands with him

during a public reception on September 6. Among others an anarchist advanced as if to shake the President's hand, but instead drew a pistol and shot him. As a result of his wound President McKinley, who lingered a week, died on

September 14, when Colonel Roosevelt succeeded to the

presidency.

Chinese Exclusion Act. — Among other legislative measures recommended by President Roosevelt in his first message to Congress (December, 1901) was one concerning Chinese laborers. In 1902 the Chinese Exclusion Act was extended to our insular possessions. In consequence of this new legislation no laborer of that race



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

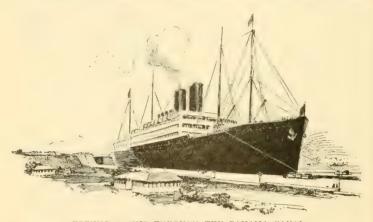
is allowed to enter any of our islands. Those already in the islands may not go from one group to another or enter any state of this Union.

Government Irrigation. — Another measure suggested to Congress and approved by it was the irrigation at government expense of the arid public lands of the West. Vast reservoirs or dams were built and canals constructed to carry the water thus stored to lands which were to be reclaimed. Flourishing towns now exist in regions that were desert when Colonel Roosevelt became President.

Strike of Coal Miners. — Early in the administration of President Roosevelt a protracted strike occurred among the anthracite mine workers of northeastern Pennsylvania. The strikers insisted upon higher wages, fewer hours of labor, and the recognition by employers of the miners' union. Very unwillingly the employers consented, at

President Roosevelt's request, to submit the dispute to the arbitration of a commission, which finally granted in substance the demands of the miners.

The Panama Canal. — After expending \$250,000,000 in an attempt to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, a French company became bankrupt. Then a reorganized French company offered to sell to the United States for \$40,000,000 all its rights and property. In June, 1902, Congress authorized the President to accept this offer, provided a satisfactory title could be acquired, and to complete the canal at a cost not to exceed \$120,000,000.



TOWING A SHIP THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

For the necessary concessions the United States offered generous compensation to the republic of Colombia to which the state of Panama belonged. But under a belief that a far larger sum could be obtained that government failed to ratify a treaty proposed by us in 1903. This action was the signal for a revolt in Panama, which was soon formed into an independent republic. By sending warships thither the United States prevented Colombia

from winning back her revolted province, and also acknowledged the independence of Panama (November, 1903). From it such concessions were obtained as were needed to complete the canal. The \$10,000,000 that had been offered Colombia was eagerly accepted by Panama; as was also a perpetual annuity of \$250,000 which was to begin nine years from the date of ratifying the treaty. In return our government secured the jurisdiction over a zone or strip of territory five miles wide on either side of the canal, and any additional land necessary for its construction and maintenance.

The Panama policy of the President was denounced by many Democrats, but the treaty passed the Senate by a vote of 66 to 14. The canal, which was completed in 1913, shortens the voyage from New York to San Francisco by about 9000 miles. It enables our warships to pass easily from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast.¹

Presidential Election of 1904. — Roosevelt's record singled him out by his grateful followers for a full term. The Democrats nominated Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York. The People's Party, the Prohibitionists, the Socialists, and other political groups also offered tickets. The Republican candidate was elected by a very large majority.

Oklahoma Admitted. — The admission in 1907 of Oklahoma increased the number of states in the Union to fortysix. The region included in the new state was nearly unsettled twenty years before and was chiefly given up to cattle grazing. Besides its pasture land it has many other resources and at the date of its admission had a population of 1,408,732. In a word, it sprang into existence as a wealthy and important state.

¹ American enthusiasm for the construction of that great waterway was stimulated by the fact that to take part in the war against Spain the battle-ship *Oregon* was compelled to make the voyage from San Francisco around Cape Horn to join our fleet, then in the West Indies.

The Pure Food Act. — The Pure Food Act was passed in 1906 to prevent the manufacture of "adulterated or misbranded or poisonous or deleterious foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors" in the District of Columbia and the territories, or the transportation of such articles from one state to another.

The Conservation Policy. — The immense natural resources of this country, hitherto not always carefully used, President Roosevelt was anxious to conserve. He added millions of acres to the forest reserves. Mines and waterpower sites also came in for regulation. By inviting (1908) to the White House (the Executive Mansion) the governors of the various states, President Roosevelt brought to their attention in an impressive manner the evils of the old practice which had wasted mines, water-power sites, and fine forests.

The San Francisco Fire. — In April, 1906, an earthquake did considerable damage in western California. In San



WILLIAM H. TAFT

Francisco it overturned houses, destroyed water mains, and started fires that burned over an immense area. In this calamity hundreds of people lost their lives, while in San Francisco alone the property destroyed has been estimated at \$400,000,000.

Election of 1908. — The character, ability, and services of William

Howard Taft, as well as Roosevelt's friendship for him, made him the presidential candidate of the Republican party in the summer of 1908. The Democrats for the third time nominated William J. Bryan. For the third time, too, the Socialists named Eugene V. Debs. The Republicans won by a very decided majority, their candi-

dates having received 321 electoral votes, the Democratic nominees 162.

The Payne-Aldrich Bill. — In 1909 the new President called a special session of Congress to revise the tariff. On August 5 the Payne-Aldrich bill, which continued the Republican policy of protection, was passed. The rate of duties on woolen goods was little changed, though the tariff on metals, leather, and lumber was reduced. Believing that the new tariff rates would be greatly reduced, the Republicans of the West were disappointed. This somewhat weakened the unity and harmony of the Republican party. Congress imposed a light tax on the earnings of corporations, and also proposed an amendment of the Constitution which would make it lawful to tax incomes.

During his administration President Taft waged legal warfare against some of the great combinations of capital known as "trusts." In May, 1911, the United States Supreme Court made decisions dissolving both the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company, but as the smaller companies which made up these corporations did not enter into competition, the public gained little advantage from the action of the Court, which was taken because the "trusts" were held to be guilty of "restraint of trade and monopolization."

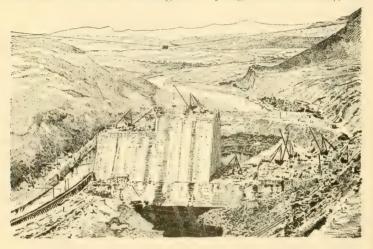
Postal Savings Banks. — In June, 1910, Congress established a system of savings banks to be managed by the Post Office Department. These were designed to provide for thrifty people a perfectly safe place in which to deposit their savings. From any person ten years of age or over, the postal banks will receive amounts from one dollar to \$2500, and will pay interest at the rate of two per cent.

Two years later, August, 1912, Congress empowered the

¹ There were cast for Taft 7,678,908 votes, for Bryan 6,409,104. Debs received 420,792 votes.

postal authorities to establish a system of domestic parcel post. Much of the business formerly done by express companies, and a great deal besides, is now transacted by the Post Office Department.

New States. — In 1912 New Mexico and Arizona were admitted into the Union as new states, thus increasing the number of stars on our flag to forty-eight and rounding out



BUILDING AN IRRIGATION DAM IN NEW MEXICO

our Republic. The only territories remaining were Alaska and the insular possessions.

Election of 1910. — In 1910 the Democrats, for the first time since 1895, gained a majority in the House of Representatives. In fact, they carried such Republican strongholds as Massachusetts, Ohio, and Vermont. This result showed that the Payne-Aldrich tariff, a measure believed to have been shaped by the moneyed interests, was not popular. A small band of Republicans, known as "Insurgents," had opposed its passage.

Election of 1912. — The "Insurgents" remained out of harmony with the leaders of their party and by 1912 came to be generally known as "Progressives." This element opposed the renomination of President Taft and favored the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt. When the Republican convention met in Chicago, June 18, 1912, rival delegates claimed many seats. In a majority of cases these disputes were settled in favor of Mr. Taft's supporters. Thereupon Roosevelt advised his friends to take no further part in the proceedings. On the first ballot President Taft received the nomination. The "Progressives" met on August 5 in Chicago and nominated former President Roosevelt.

The Democratic convention, which had meanwhile assembled in Baltimore, was largely controlled by Mr. Bryan. Its strongest candidates were Mr. Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey. Speaker Clark received the votes of a majority, but to gain the nomination in a Democratic national nominating convention the support of two thirds of the delegates is required. The influence of Mr. Bryan inclined the contest in favor of Governor Wilson, who on the 46th ballot received the votes of nearly all the delegates.

During the campaign the Republicans, in almost every state, separated into two camps which bitterly assailed each other. In this situation Wilson won an overwhelming victory, receiving 435 electoral votes as against 88 for Roosevelt and 8 for Taft.² The popular vote was 6,290,000 for Wilson, 4,123,206 for Roosevelt, 3,484,529 for Taft, and 898,296 for Debs.

¹ In a Republican convention the candidate who receives a majority (one more than half) gains the nomination.

² The useful measures recommended by President Taft deserved a better fate than that which overtook them. His efforts to insure peace among the nations of the world were defeated by the action of the United States Senate, while his plan to establish better trade relations with Canada came to nothing because of the opposition of the people of that Dominion.

RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The Initiative and the Referendum. — In recent times there has grown up a tendency to lessen the power of state legislatures and to give to the whole body of voters a direct share in suggesting and approving laws. This is provided for by the Initiative and the Referendum. Their operation will be made clear by quoting from Article V of the Oklahoma constitution of 1907, which provides that "the legislative authority of the State shall be vested in a legislature, consisting of a senate and a house of representatives; but the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislature, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature."

Under the Initiative a certain proportion of the qualified voters (eight per cent in some states) can propose a law by petition; every such petition must include the full text of the proposed measure. It is then voted on in an election, and becomes law if approved by the majority. The Referendum may usually be ordered either by petition of a certain percentage of the legal voters (five per cent in some states), or by the legislature. If a bill proposed by Initiative, or an act on which the Referendum is demanded, be approved by a majority of the legal voters, it cannot afterward be vetoed by the governor.

Beginning with South Dakota in 1898, the Initiative and Referendum were adopted, within twenty years, by more than a third of the states in the Union.

Municipal Government. — When we reflect that more than one third of the people of the United States dwell in cities, the importance of municipal government becomes evident. Foreigners visiting the United States and making a study of our political institutions bestow much praise upon American governmental systems. From this commendation, however, municipal or city government is often excepted. This appears to be because this form of government is comparatively new in the United States. In the year 1787 there were in this country very few cities. At the time of Washington's inauguration Philadelphia had a population of only 42,000. New York came next with 33,000 people, while Boston had not yet become a city. The novelty of city government, then, may be offered as an explanation of our partial failure in this single field. Moreover, municipal government is exceedingly complex. Nevertheless, it may be confidently asserted that it will soon exhibit as great efficiency as that which we see in the Federal system and in the government of rural localities.

In the details of their government American cities show great differences, though in the large outlines there is a general resemblance. Originally the mayor of an American city was an official of considerable importance, but gradually he was stripped of many powers. When this came to pass, various city officers and boards of aldermen or councils found it easy to undertake and to carry out schemes injurious to the public. This system began to attract attention only when there was noticed a marked increase in the rate of taxation. State supervision of city officials did not prove effective.

Government by a Commission. — The defects enumerated have led some leaders to recommend for cities in general the system of government by a commission composed of few members. Those who advocate this plan claim that in the make-up of commissions the people get the benefits of expert service. They likewise assert that it has been found more efficient as well as more economical than the older governments. First tried in Galveston,

Texas, in 1900, this system was adopted, within fifteen years, in several hundred cities and towns. But there is much difference between the management of a small and a large city; and many men familiar with municipal affairs disapprove of the new plan.

The Recall. — Another indication that local governments are often not what the people desire is the practice in some cities and states of recalling to private life an officer who is unsatisfactory, and electing a successor for the unexpired term. An election for this purpose is called on the petition of a certain percentage of the voters. But it little matters under what system of government we live unless the citizens, especially the more intelligent, are active, vigilant, and incorruptible. In other words, no form of government will run itself, but every system requires the enlightened guidance of watchful citizens. Nor is vigilance alone sufficient. Under our democratic system of government it is no less the duty of every citizen to be educated.

Direct Primaries. — A reform that has been adopted in most of the states is the use of primary elections, instead of conventions, to select the candidates of each political party for public offices. Thus the voters in each party ballot directly to choose their candidates for local and state offices, and for members of Congress. In some states they may also express their preference for candidates for President and Vice President.

Woman Suffrage. — Movements for improving the civil and political position of women began in many states nearly a hundred years ago. Women gradually gained the desired rights in regard to property and business, and many colleges were opened to female students. They were also given the right to vote in school elections in many states. In 1869 Wyoming gave them the right to vote in all elections on equal terms with men. Her example was followed in 1893—

1896 by three other western states — Colorado, Idaho, and Utah. In 1910–1918 equal suffrage was also secured in Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Montana, Nevada, New York, Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma.¹ In various other states, however, proposed constitutional amendments to this effect were rejected by the voters.

Meanwhile the advocates of equal suffrage urged an amendment to the Federal Constitution that would give the vote to women in all the states. In June, 1919, the proposed amendment passed both houses of Congress by the required two-thirds majority, and thus was submitted to the legislatures of the states for ratification.

Constitutional Amendments. — The Sixteenth Amendment, giving Congress full power to levy income taxes, was ratified by the necessary number of states early in 1913. A few months later the Seventeenth Amendment was also ratified; it provided that United States senators should be elected by the voters instead of by the legislature of each state. This amendment had long been urged by many people, but before 1912 was several times defeated in the Senate.

Prohibition. — Beginning with Maine in 1851, a number of states adopted laws or constitutional amendments prohibiting the liquor traffic, while other states passed laws permitting counties or cities to adopt local prohibition. By 1917 more than half the states were "dry." Near the end of that year Congress proposed the Eighteenth Amendment, which was ratified in January, 1919. This prohibits the liquor traffic in the whole country after January, 1920.

¹ In 1913 the Illinois legislature gave women the right to vote for presidential electors and all offices created by the legislature. The same action was taken later in Nebraska and North Dakota. In Rhode Island women were given the right to vote for presidential electors, and in Arkansas to vote in the party primaries.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — Why was America interested in Cuba? What was the policy of General Weyler in dealing with the Cuban rebels? What occurred in Manila Bay in May, 1898? Why was Cuba not annexed to the United States? Describe the defeat of Admiral Cervera's fleet. What battles were fought near Santiago? When was Porto Rico acquired? What were the provisions of the treaty of Paris? Tell about the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. What is said of the people and the government of the Philippines?

What can you tell about the international agreements entered into at The Hague? Who invented the submarine? Who was elected President in 1900? Describe the manner of President McKinley's death. Who then succeeded to the presidency? What was President Roosevelt's method of reclaiming waste land? Who was responsible for settling the coal strike of the Pennsylvania miners? Relate the history of the Panama Canal. What was the forty-sixth state admitted into the Union? How did the President seek to interest the states in his conservation policy? Who was chosen President in 1908? What are the postal savings banks and what is the system of domestic parcel post? What two states completed the union of forty-eight? Who were the "Insurgents"? The Progressives? Describe the campaign of 1912, and its result.

What is the Initiative? The Referendum? Is the superiority of city government by commission clearly proved? What leads to the recall of officials? Discuss suffrage for women. When did the Eighteenth Amendment become a part of the Constitution?

References. — Fish, The Development of American Nationality; Garner and Lodge, The United States; E. P. Oberholtzer, Referendum in America; C. H. McCarthy, Civil Government in the United States.

CHAPTER XXXIV

WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION; WAR WITH GERMANY

On March 4, 1913, Woodrow Wilson and Thomas Riley Marshall were duly inaugurated President and Vice President. In a stirring address the new Executive made it plain that he expected his party in Congress promptly to consider and to act upon the tariff and the currency.

The Underwood Tariff. — To perform the promises of

his party President Wilson called a special session of Congress. Following the example of Washington and the elder Adams, he personally appeared at the Capitol and read to the national legislature his message, which urged a downward revision of the tariff. By October, 1913, Congress passed the Underwood measure, which greatly reduced the rates fixed by the Payne-Aldrich bill. The new law, it was believed by the Democrats, would reduce the high cost of living. For



WOODROW WILSON

one reason or another, however, it failed in that object. Republicans claimed, on the other hand, that the act was responsible for an industrial dullness that continued during the beginning of President Wilson's first term.

The Income Tax. — It was in 1913 that the Sixteenth Amendment gave Congress power "to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived." The Under-

wood bill accordingly levied a tax on incomes in excess of \$3000 a year in the case of unmarried persons or \$4000 in the case of those living in the marriage relation. The tax was 1 per cent, plus surtaxes on larger incomes, ranging from 1 per cent on incomes in excess of \$20,000, to 6 per cent on incomes in excess of \$500,000.

The Federal Reserve Act. - Another part of the administration program was the enactment in 1913 of the Owen-Glass Bill. This provides for a system of regional reserve banks, which were made twelve in number. Each is formed by a union of the national banks in its district. The reserve banks are under the general control of a Federal Reserve Board consisting of seven members, namely, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of Currency, and five other persons appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. One object of this law is to prevent money panics. This end could be gained, it was believed, by making it difficult for capital to pile up where it is not needed and by causing it to move to places where it is in demand. The small banks which fared ill under the old system, were benefited by the new law. An important provision is the arrangement by which any bank can deposit with the reserve bank the notes of business men to whom it has loaned money, and on such security borrow 50 per cent of their value in new paper currency. These new federal reserve notes are guaranteed by the reserve bank and the United States and protected by a gold reserve of forty per cent. The reserve banks assist the government in selling its bonds.

¹ The rates were greatly increased later. On incomes of 1918 the amount of income exempt from tax was only \$1000, or \$2000 for married persons, plus \$200 for each dependent. The rate was 6 per cent on income in excess of the exemption, up to \$4000; 12 per cent on the remainder, plus surtaxes ranging from 1 per cent on excess over \$5000 to 65 per cent on excess over \$1.000.000.

Anarchy in Mexico. The successive administrations of President Diaz, of Mexico, had been marked by somewhat orderly progress in many, though not in all lines. Relations with the outside world were friendly and with the United States they had apparently become cordial. Internal improvements, suggested centuries before, had been completed, and the national credit was higher than ever. Citizens of Mexico were doubtless dreaming of peace and prosperity. But the picture changed suddenly.

In 1911, at the reëlection of Diaz, who had ruled his nation for thirty years, the people rose in revolt, which was ended only by his resignation. Madero, his successor, was deposed by General Huerta (oo-ĕr'tah) and was killed. But President Wilson, refusing to sanction murder as a principle of succession, declined to recognize Huerta as president of Mexico. Indeed, many Mexicans revolted against Huerta. Large armies were assembled under Zapata, Villa, and Carranza, and after Huerta resigned, they fell to fighting one another. Carranza gained control of most of the country, and was recognized by Wilson as president of Mexico. But his authority was still disputed by Villa and his followers. During the many years of waste and slaughter our government was forced at great expense to

In that troubled season Huerta's men captured a few American sailors in a boat flying the American flag. Though they were released, the United States demanded an apology and a salute to the flag, which was refused. At that moment a German vessel loaded with munitions of war for the Mexican government was approaching Vera Cruz. To prevent the landing of its cargo President Wilson ordered the seizure of the customhouse in that city. Some fighting attended the occupation of this port, which was soon in the hands of American soldiers. An offer of mediation by the ministers of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, popularly known as the A. B. C. envoys, brought about a cessation of the hostilities which had commenced. In 1914 at Niagara Falls, Canada, the ministers from the three South American states met representatives from Mexico and the United States. Their agreement called for the resignation of Huerta and the withdrawal of our troops from Vera Cruz. This was finally effected, but the departure of Huerta failed to bring peace to Mexico.

guard our southwestern frontier, which was the scene of much fighting between the hostile factions and likewise of some fatal raids into the United States. In these battles along the border many Americans lost their lives. After a raid by Villa, a small American army under General Pershing entered Mexico in 1916, dispersed the bandits, suffered some losses, and was later recalled. For his policy of "watchful waiting" President Wilson has been severely criticized. Some of the troubles, however, had been inherited from the administration of President Taft.

The World War. — During the summer of 1914 there broke out in Europe the most destructive war in all history. By a sudden attack, Germany and Austria-Hungary tried to conquer several neighboring countries. By the end of 1916 fourteen nations, great and small, were engaged in the conflict. In a proclamation President Wilson declared, early in the war, the neutrality of the United States and warned the American people against the commission of unneutral acts. On the part of our government the greatest care was taken to avoid complications with any of the warring nations.

Controversy with Germany. — From the beginning of hostilities vessels engaged in the trans-Atlantic trade had been carrying, in addition to passengers and ordinary merchandise, some munitions of war. Unable to capture such ships by lawful means, Germany tried to stop them by threats of frightfulness. Her submarine boats, in many instances without warning, sent to the bottom ships and cargoes; thus many passengers were drowned. When, May 7, 1915, the British steamer Lusitania was torpedoed, 114 American citizens lost their lives. This, together with the

¹ In taking passage on a British merchant ship these citizens were entirely within their rights. In case the vessel were sunk, international law required that the captor should provide for the safety of their lives.

destruction of the *Laconia* and other injuries less grave, led to a serious disagreement with Germany.

As a result of strong protests by the United States, the German government, at a later stage, promised that merchant vessels unless they offered resistance or attempted to escape, would not be sunk without warning, and giving opportunity to save the lives of passengers and crew.



GERMAN SUBMARINE ABOUT TO SINK AN OCEAN LINER

Wilson's Reëlection. — When the presidential year 1916 came round, the Democrats renominated President Wilson. The Republicans, on the other hand, named Charles E. Hughes, Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Though Colonel Roosevelt, who declined to stand a second time as a candidate of the "Progressives," supported the Republican ticket, Mr. Wilson was reëlected, receiving 276 votes to 255 for Mr. Hughes. Doubtless it was an advan-

¹ Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, believed President Wilson should not have so firmly insisted upon respect for American rights and on June 5, 1915, tendered his resignation, which was accepted.

tage to President Wilson to have been regarded as a friend of labor and to have honorably kept the country out of war. But in the second of his achievements there appears to have been an element of good fortune, for before his second administration was old he was confronted by problems graver than before.

The Break with Germany. - Notwithstanding Germany's promise to impose restraints on her submarine warfare, there was reported instance after instance all showing little care for victims helplessly drifting on stormy seas. This conduct was opposed to the past practice of all civilized powers, and it was followed by the withdrawal of Germany's promise to give warning. She announced that on and after February 1, 1917, her submarines would act without restraint and would sink every ship that they found in the waters near the British Isles and France, and in most of the Mediterranean Sea Many vessels, those of friendly neutrals as well as those of belligerents, were ruthlessly destroyed. Even hospital ships carrying maimed and crippled men or relief ships conveying supplies to starving Belgians were sunk. In a word, there was begun, February 1, the wholesale destruction of men, women, and children engaged in pursuits that all civilized peoples had long held lawful. In the language of President Wilson, German submarine warfare against commerce had become "a warfare against mankind."

On February 3, 1917, President Wilson informed Congress that diplomatic relations with Germany were broken off. On March 12 our government issued orders to place armed guards on American merchant ships. The crimes reported against Germany since the commencement of the war began to be generally believed when its paid agents dynamited some of our factories, killing and injuring many American citizens.

President Wilson Recommends War. — The records of our courts fully prove that spies were in this country even before the European war began, and that their intrigues were personally directed by official agents of Germany, while an intercepted note, of January 16, 1917, to the German minister to Mexico informed him that his government had resolved to break its promise to our government and instructed him to offer to Mexico the states of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico provided Mexico would join Germany (and, if possible, Japan) in attacking the United States. In other words, at her convenience Germany purposed, by stirring up enemies at our doors, to act against our peace and safety.

Moreover, while expressing the most cordial friendship for the American people, Germany had its agents at work in Japan and in Latin America. By controlling newspapers and supporting speakers they labored to stir up feelings of bitterness toward the United States. Furthermore, Germany succeeded in starting rebellions in Cuba and Haiti. A knowledge of these facts and of many others finally forced the President to act. He called Congress in special session and on April 2, 1917, delivered to the two Houses one of the ablest messages ever heard by a Congress of the United States. He advised that that body "declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war."

After no little debate Congress on April 6 passed resolutions such as had been recommended by President Wilson,

namely, that the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which had been thrust upon the United States, was formally declared.¹

Raising Armies. — The President also recommended to Congress an extension of credit to the chief European enemies of Germany, the mobilization of the material resources of this country, the full equipment of the navy, and an immediate addition to the armed forces of at least 500,000 men to be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, with the authorization of later increases of equal strength when they were needed and their training was practicable. Again, by an almost unanimous vote, the Congress, without regard to the politics of its members, enacted into law the recommendations of the President. One act provided for the registration of all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty (both included).² In carrying out this law the President, by proclamation, fixed June 5, 1917, as the day of registration for military

¹ The United States was forced into the war because there was no other means of defending her rights. President Wilson solemnly declared: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind." In an eloquent address on June 14, 1917 (Flag Day), delivered at the Washington Monument, he said: "The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of honor as a sovereign government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. . . . They sought by violence to arrest our industries and destroy our commerce." In his Flag Day oration President Wilson also noticed the presence in the United States of many people prudent but disloyal. These all spoke the same language. They pretended to be ready and even eager to give up their lives for their country, but they asserted that they would not enlist to fight the battles of any European nation. They appeared not to know that the navies and the armies of Europe at that time protected our country from invasion and conquest. This nation, however, ignored pro-Germans as well as "Pacifists" and rapidly placed itself on a war footing.

² Under a later act (1918), the ages were eighteen to forty-five.

service. Almost 10,000,000 young men were enrolled and from their number armies were raised and equipped as soon as practicable. The first draft took place July 20.1 Meanwhile many volunteers were accepted in both army and navy. Our warships promptly entered European waters to convoy merchant vessels and destroy submarines.

An American expeditionary force, organized May 26, 1917, under General John J. Pershing, soon landed in France. Not many soldiers were sent at first; but later the number was rapidly increased. At one period as many as 200,000 troops were sent over in a single month. Before the signing of the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, more than 2,000,000 soldiers had been transported to Europe.

The American Red Cross. — During our Civil War, Miss Clara Barton, as a volunteer nurse, acted a noble part in lessening the amount of human suffering. This service, however, as well as her activity in the later war against Spain, would have been little known, like the devotion of many forgotten heroines, but for her connection with an organization that has grown great. According to her account the honor of founding the Red Cross belongs to Henry Dinant, a Swiss gentleman who was shocked by the horrors of the battlefield of Solferino, Italy (1859). Soon after the International Red Cross of Europe was established. By its officers Miss Barton was invited to assist them in their work during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71). On her return to the United States, though she was

¹ When Congress declared war, the War Department at once began to provide for the instruction of officers to command the new army. Its plan furnished in camps for well-educated civilian volunteers three months of hard training. These training camps, sixteen in number, were located at points between Plattsburg, New York, and San Francisco, California. When the period of instruction and drill was over, each successful student accepted such appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the United States Army as the Secretary of War deemed proper to tender.

in feeble health, she never ceased her efforts to found a branch of the Red Cross and so to widen its scope that it would care not only for the victims of war but for every form of distress that is likely to afflict a nation. It was in 1882 that her endeavor was crowned with success. Various occasions since that date called forth the praiseworthy activity of the association which she introduced into America and improved for humanity.

But it was not until the Great War in Europe that the American Red Cross perfected its organization and performed that mighty work for stricken communities of which its foundress had fondly dreamed. A volume would be required to relate its noble deeds. But even if there were no records, in Belgium, in France, in Russia, and in other afflicted lands as well as in America, its service will be long remembered.

The Y.M.C.A. — The spirit of the American people was also manifested in the war service of the Young Men's Christian Association, which exerted itself to the utmost to provide wholesome recreation for the soldiers, as well as to comfort the dying and to cheer the wounded and the sick. Grateful governments have testified to the extent and value of its assistance. Besides its regular activities, it maintained at the camps, by request of the government, a system of canteens, at which could be purchased many articles much desired by soldiers. Moreover, its huts provided instruction for soldiers, in matters secular and religious, as well as many of the lighter forms of entertainment.

The Knights of Columbus. — Working in entire harmony with these two organizations, was the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic men's society which encourages education and especially enjoins devotion to country and church. Even before the Great War it had shown in a practical manner its high conception of patriotism. It had

established in the Catholic University, at an expense of half a million dollars, fifty scholarships. To hold one of these, which are open only to laymen, the student must have already graduated from college, but whatever line of research he may be inclined to pursue, he is required by the letter of the foundation to follow a course of instruction

in American history and institutions. In thus becoming familiar with American ideals it will thereafter be easier for him to be true to democracy.

Immediately after our participation in this war the national officers of this society promptly began to plan a series of recreation centers for soldiers both at home and abroad. This idea was executed on a scale extremely generous. Witnesses unnumbered have mentioned in terms the most complimentary the varied and splendid services of this society, which in addition to its attention to



POSTER USED IN 1918 1

the physical needs of members of the army or the navy took care that for the spiritual welfare of Catholics there were sufficient chaplains. At an early stage of these activities the Knights of Columbus received by cable this message:

"I wish on behalf of the troops under my command to thank the Knights of Columbus for the substantial service it is rendering the Army in France. Pershing."

¹ In the "drive" of November, 1918, gifts of \$200,000,000 were secured for the work of seven organizations—Catholic, Protestant, Hebrew, and nonsectarian.

Other Patriotic Organizations. — Returning soldiers brought reports extremely favorable concerning the valuable services of the Salvation Army, an association which had fewer representatives in Europe than the societies already mentioned. In any account of these voluntary activities, which greatly lightened the burden of our government, one should not fail to mention the splendid work of the Jewish Welfare Board.

The War in 1014-1017. — Clearly to understand the part performed by America in winning the war it is necessary to describe conditions in the Old World. When our country entered the war, the Central Powers (Germany and Austria) had been fighting the Entente (ahn-tahnt') Allies (Great Britain, France, and Russia) for nearly three years. The early successes of the Teutonic nations had induced Turkey and Bulgaria to unite with them. On the other hand. Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Italy, Portugal, Roumania, and (to some extent) Japan had enlisted with the Allies. Through the long years victories had been won by both sides: each pretended to be confident of final success, but the end of the cruel struggle appeared to be far off. The Russians overthrew their emperor in March, 1917; and later the extreme radicals among them, called Bolsheviki (bōl-shĕ-ve-kē'), demoralized the army, seized power, and by treaty gave to Germany a large portion of the national domain.

In this place we cannot describe in detail the plans by which the war was won. We can, however, name the more important forces that broke the power of Germany.

The Blockade. — Notwithstanding the confidence of the German people everywhere and the boastful nature of their claims, a deadly blow had been dealt the power of the Kaiser in the first month of the war. Germany, though she manifested great strength, never ceased to feel the effects of the blockade maintained chiefly by Great Britain.

When the British navy had swept German shipping from the seas, the Kaiser's government decided to strike back with its submarines at the vessels of Great Britain and France. It was this campaign which finally forced into the war our country with its boundless power. British transports carried many of our troops to France, and on their arrival in European waters the British fleet assured them a safe landing. In this useful work, indeed, our own navy materially assisted. In short, the blockade, which embarrassed Germany from the beginning of the war, was an element of extreme importance in her downfall, while the military, the naval, and the financial resources of the United States formed another element, and one which men wiser than the rulers of Germany would have feared.

Participation of the United States. — Germans in high office laughed when they heard that this country purposed to take part in the war, and led their countrymen to believe that the military power of America was a thing to be scorned. Early in the year 1918, however, it had become clear to German leaders that their submarines, destructive though they were, could not prevent American forces from crossing to France. Before they could arrive in large numbers, therefore, it was resolved to strike hard at the British and French forces, so as to separate them and destroy them in turn. At first the plan met with considerable success. Though the struggle was going decidedly against the Allies, their commanders gave no hint to the Germans of the nature of the surprise in store for them. But this severe fighting had a result at once unexpected and eventful. It pointed out the necessity of unity in the command and led to the appointment of General Foch (fosh) as supreme commander.

This unity of command was the third element in ultimate victory. It was on March 21, 1918, that the Germans began the drive intended to destroy the Allied armies. By

that time General Pershing had four divisions experienced in the trenches. On March 28 he placed at the disposal of Marshal Foch, commander in chief of the Allied armies, all the American forces in France. They were placed as reserves, while the first German drive was stopped by the



BATTLE LINES IN FRANCE AND BELGIUM, 1914-1918

British and French, after heavy losses. On May 28 an American division, confident of their training and eager for the test, with splendid dash took the town of Cantigny (kahn-tēn-yē') and all other places indicated for them. These they steadfastly held in the face of vicious counterattacks and an artillery fire of deadly precision. They

demonstrated at once the fighting qualities of the American soldiers and made plain the fact that the Germans were not invincible. This brilliant action, says General Pershing, "had an electrical effect."

Belleau Wood.—In a second drive, in May, 1918, the Germans rapidly advanced to the Marne River and toward the city of Paris. On that ground they had been terribly defeated by Marshal Joffre (zhōfr) in September, 1914. In that victory he had been assisted by a small British force. Marshal Foch, the present commander, had the assistance of Americans, who held their positions against every attempt of the best German guard divisions. In the battle of Belleau (bel-lō') Wood the Americans proved their superiority and after inflicting on the enemy losses heavier than their own won a strong position. On July 1 one of our divisions captured the village of Vaux (vō).

Soissons. — Marshal Foch acted on the defensive until after the middle of July. By that time he had learned to know the fighting qualities of the Americans; his supply of tanks was more abundant; his reserves were sufficient. He then took the offensive, which was brilliantly kept up until, more than one hundred days later, the power of Germany was broken.¹

On July 18 in a thrust on Soissons (swah-sawn'), American divisions, the First and the Second, with chosen French divisions, were given the place of honor. The Germans, well supplied with artillery and machine guns, fought stubbornly, and brought up large numbers of reserves, but

¹ At Rheims on July 15 there were American soldiers who did not flinch in the face of the enemy's most desperate attacks. Opposite Chateau-Thierry (sha-tō' tyĕr-rē') a single regiment, says General Pershing, on this occasion "wrote one of the most brilliant pages in our military annals." On its front it prevented Germans from crossing the Marne, while on its flanks the Germans who had gained a footing pressed forward. Firing in three directions, our men met the enemy attacks with counter-attacks, threw two German divisions into complete confusion, and captured 600 prisoners.

they were driven back. The First Division after advancing for five days gained the heights above Soissons and captured a village. The Second, moving more rapidly, was equally successful. Together these divisions took 7000 prisoners and over 100 pieces of artillery. The great battle for the



BOMBING PLANE

line great battle for the liberation of France had been well begun. Defeated a second time in their drive on Paris, the Germans after July 18 began retreats which, by November 11 following, freed most of France and much of Belgium from their rule.¹

St. Mihiel. — On August 30 General Pershing's troops took over about forty miles of the battle line. Chiefly at night nearly 600,000 men with all necessary equipment were assembled in this sector. The French generously

assisted with artillery and aircraft, the British with bombing squadrons. By the morning of September 12 every-

¹ On the 18th of July, Torcy was taken by one American division, while another pursued the retreating Germans across the Marne. In the face of both machine gun and artillery fire another of our divisions, the Third, took the heights of Mont St. Père, and the villages of Chartèves and Jaulgonne. The Forty-second Division overwhelmed a nest of machine guns in the Forêt de Fère. After another victory at Sergy it joined the Thirty-second in pursuing the Germans to the river Vesle. Though, compared with the great battles of the war, these were minor engagements, they were important enough to show the superiority of American soldiers.

thing was in readiness. Four hours of artillery preparation must have given notice to the enemy that something was afoot. At dawn seven American divisions assisted by tanks dashed out of a fog against Germans already demoralized by the heavy artillery fire. Our soldiers overcame all opposition and with a loss of 7000 in killed, wounded, and missing, captured 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and released from the enemy the inhabitants of a large area. From its new position our army threatened Metz. The Allies learned that their American friends were formidable and the Germans that the despised nation was dangerous.

Meuse-Argonne Region. — After the brilliant victory at St. Mihiel, American troops began to move along the Meuse River and into the western part of the forest of Argonne. This movement was directed against the German line of communications over which their supplies had been brought for four years. Over a difficult country made almost impregnable by German skill our troops on September 26 successfully drove through barbed wire entanglements and over multitudes of shell craters across No Man's Land, mastering the first-line defenses. By the 28th they had advanced from three to seven miles, taking many villages. In this fighting, which had an element of surprise, General Pershing took 10,000 prisoners.

Other divisions were highly praised by the British and French commanders under whom they served. The report of their successes encouraged our men in the Argonne forest, who resumed their advance on October 4. Though defended by a skill perfected by years of experience, an abundant supply of machine guns as well as artillery, and by chosen soldiers, on the 10th the enemy was driven by our men entirely out of the Argonne forest.

Defeated in every engagement for weeks, the enemy,

whose spirit was broken, could no longer resist the American onslaught. By November 3 our troops had penetrated the German line to a distance of twelve miles. On the 5th a division had reached the Meuse opposite Sedan, after an advance of twenty-five miles. This was the goal toward which our armies had been moving. They had cut the enemy's main line of communications and, says General Pershing, "nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster." From September 26, 1918, to November 6, our armies in the Meuse-Argonne section had taken 26,059 German prisoners and 468 guns. With his victorious troops General Pershing was just beginning, November 11, other important operations when instructions were received that hostilities should cease at 11 o'clock A.M. Thus the military phase of the war came to an end.1

The Terms of the Armistice. — Meanwhile the Allies had been brilliantly successful in other fields. The armies of Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary were destroyed or dispersed, and these countries accepted armistices that amounted to surrender. With similar disaster impending, Germany also yielded. Under the armistice of November 11, 1918, the Germans hastily withdrew from Belgium, a kingdom which they had almost conquered and nearly destroyed, and from northern France, which in the first weeks of the war, August, 1914, they had occupied and much of

¹ In every engagement the raw soldiers of democracy had shown themselves superior to the highly trained veterans of the Kaiser. On sunny days and through chilly nights they fought with equal courage and confidence. A single American victory might well have been ascribed to accident, but our soldiers, whether serving under British, French, or American commanders, were invariably successful. In future times historians will deservedly praise the achievements of the American soldier, but they may not always make it clear to their readers that Germany did not feel the force of one tenth or, perhaps, one twentieth of the military power of the United States.

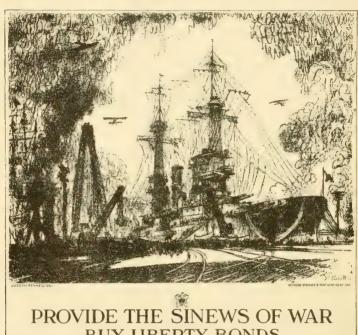
which they had afterward devastated. They evacuated Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine, and gave to the Allies and Americans control of the right bank of the Rhine. Moreover, they surrendered all their submarines, the best vessels of their navy, thousands of cannon, great numbers of airplanes and locomotives and railway cars. They set free the Allied and American prisoners of war. They promised also to make good the destruction which they had wrought on land and sea. Furthermore, they were compelled to renounce the treaty of Bucharest, which gave them advantages at the expense of Roumania, and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk by which among other things they were to control one fourth of European Russia. These proofs of victory make evident the extent of the disaster to German arms.

Shipbuilding.—The United States had not been long engaged in the war when the demand for seagoing vessels became so great that one hundred thirty-two shipyards, situated on all our coasts, were busily engaged in turning out steel and wooden cargo vessels for the government. Ships of concrete also were tested and made successful voyages.

Government Control of Railways.—In the exercise of power granted by Congress as a war measure, President Wilson on December 28, 1917, took over the "control and possession" of the railroad systems of this country. This included the supervision of about 260,000 miles of track, representing an investment of more than \$16,000,000,000, and the employment of 1,700,000 persons. The government control of railways was to continue for a certain period after the war, when the property was to be returned to its owners. In June, 1918, he likewise took over the temporary control of the telegraph and telephone systems.

¹ In going from the source toward the mouth of a river the land on the right side is called the right bank and that on the left side the left bank.

Expenditures. - For the fiscal year, June 30, 1917, to June 30, 1918, the Secretary of the Treasury calculated the total expenditures at \$18,000,000,000. Of this immense sum \$6,115,000,000 had been loaned to the Allies. It has been estimated that the cost of the war to the American



BUY LIBERTY BONDS

A SHIPYARD AS SHOWN IN A LIBERTY LOAN POSTER

people for the two years following June 30, 1917, will be at least \$36,000,000,000. The cost was met partly by heavy taxes and partly by loans. Within two years the people subscribed over \$21,000,000,000 in five Liberty Loans.

Conference at Versailles. — Of all the wars of which there is any record that which began in 1914 was for the

human race by far the most disastrous. No other conflict, though many and bloody struggles have cursed the earth, has been to mankind the source of woes so great. Convinced of this fact, the more progressive states are now endeavoring through a proposed league of nations forever to banish wars from our unhappy world. The twofold task of constituting this league and of making terms of peace with Germany and her allies was entrusted to a conference which began its sessions at Versailles, France, in January, 1919.

Treaty with Germany. — On June 28, 1919, a treaty of peace was signed with Germany, by which she agreed to the constitution of a League of Nations, although herself not vet admitted as a member. She ceded Alsace-Lorraine to France, small areas to Belgium, large areas (partly subject to vote of the people concerned) to Poland, part of Sleswick (subject to vote) to Denmark, the German colony in China to Japan, and the other German colonies to the League of Nations. The coal of the Sarre Valley, adjoining Alsace-Lorraine, was given to France, and the valley was placed for fifteen years under the control of the League of Nations. Germany agreed to drastic reductions of her army and navy; the payment of reparation for damage to civilians: the replacement of shipping sunk by her submarine warfare: and the surrender and trial of persons accused of responsibility for the war and of crimes committed in the war. She also agreed to accept the treaties that should be made by the Allies with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to acknowledge the independence of the new states recognized by the Allies.

QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES

Review Questions. — What was the program of President Wilson? What was the legislation concerning incomes? What do you know of the Federal Reserve Act?

Tell about the prospects of Mexico and about the sudden change. What did the United States do at Vera Cruz? Why did a part of our army enter Mexico?

Why did German submarines sink our ships and take the lives of our citizens? What promise was made by the German Imperial Government? Why did President Wilson recommend war against Germany? What other recommendations were made by the President? When did the first registration for military purposes take place? What did the President say about the ends or objects of our country? Why did we resort to war? Who commanded the American expeditionary force in France?

What was the first severe blow dealt the power of Germany? What was the German opinion of the military strength of our country? Why were the leaders of that nation in a hurry to destroy the armies of Great Britain and France? What resulted from the appointment of General Foch to the command of all the armies on the side of the Allies?

What was the result of the fighting at Cantigny? At Belleau Wood? Describe the engagement opposite Chateau Thierry. Describe General Pershing's great victory at St. Mihiel. Describe the cutting by the American armies of the German main line of communications. When was the armistice signed?

What important step was taken by our Government on December 27, 1917? In what way did the United States assist the Allies in addition to sending troops to the front?

References. — Message of President Wilson to Congress, April 2, 1917; also his address June 14, 1917; The Public Ledger, of Philadelphia, August 5, 1917, and afterward; How the War Came to America, a book issued by the Committee on Public Information; American Review of Reviews for 1917 and 1918; Harper's Monthly, March and April, 1919; General Pershing's Report to the War Department.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.¹

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he

shall be chosen.

4 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the

Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *protempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two

thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. 1 The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by

law appoint a different day.

Section 5. 1 Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2 Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds,

expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other

place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

¹ The last half of this sentence was superseded by the 17th Amendment.

Section 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during

his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with

amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by year and navs. and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations pre-

scribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1 The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes:

4 To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post offices and post roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make

rules concerning captures on land and water;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13 To provide and maintain a navy;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the

Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the disci-

pline prescribed by Congress;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department

or officer thereof.

Section 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.²

2 The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may re-

quire it.

3 No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

- 6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.
- 7 No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the

² A temporary clause, no longer in force. See also Article V.

¹ The District of Columbia, which comes under these regulations, had not then been erected.

receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Section 10.1 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, expost facto law, or law impairing the

obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as

will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or

profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate, shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice.

¹ See also the 10th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments.

In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.¹

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same

throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been four-

teen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any

of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: - 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. 1 The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such interior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which

shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on

¹ This paragraph superseded by the 12th Amendment.

extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which the distribution of the distribution of the state of the distribution of the state of the sta

shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States,—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall

make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. 1 Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture

except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And

¹ See the 11th Amendment.

the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privi-

leges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may

be due.1

Section 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular

State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent. shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States

under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

¹ See the 13th Amendment.

Wm. Paterson

Jona: Dayton

3 The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the mempers of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers. both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

> GO: WASHINGTON -Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia

Pennsylvania Virginia New Hampshire John Langdon B. Franklin John Blair -Nicholas Gilman Thomas Mifflin James Madison Jr. Robt. Morris Geo. Clymer Massachusetts Thos. Fitzsimons North Carolina Nathaniel Gorham Jared Ingersoll James Wilson Gouv Morris Wm. Blount Rufus King Richd, Dobbs Spaight Hu Williamson Connecticut Delaware Wm. Saml, Johnson Roger Sherman South Carolina Geo: Read Gunning Bedford Jun J. Rutledge John Dickinson New York Charles Cotesworth Pinckney Charles Pinckney Richard Bassett Alexander Hamilton Jaco: Broom Pierce Butler New Jersey Maryland Wil: Livingston GeorgiaDavid Brearley

James McHenry

Dan of St. Thos Jenifer Danl, Carroll

William Few Abr Baldwin

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON Secretary.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLES I-X 1

ARTICLE I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances

¹ The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

ARTICLE II. A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a

manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons. houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the

place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia. when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive

fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI 1

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XH 2

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person

¹ Adopted in 1798.

voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President. and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; -The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives. open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; - The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President. if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII1

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by ap-SECTION 2.

propriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV 2

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice

¹ Adopted in 1865.

² Adopted in 1868.

President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV 1

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI2

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII 3

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

¹ Adopted in 1870.

² Adopted in 1913.

³ Adopted in 1913.

ARTICLE XVIII

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent

power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

¹ Ratified in January, 1919.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS

I. EARLY NAVIGATORS AND TRAVELERS

The Northmen (985-1005).—1. Character and achievements.

- 2. Settlement of Greenland. 3. Discovery of North America (1000).
- 4. Attempts at settlement. 5. Destruction of Greenland settlements. 6. No influence on Columbus.

The Italians (1277-1453). — 1. Trade with Asia; the Polos. 2. The Franciscans in Cathay. 3. The Vivaldi brothers. 4. Influence of fall of Constantinople (1453) on prosperity of Venice and Genoa. 5. Navigators went to Spain, England, and France.

The Portuguese (1418-1498). 1. Prince Henry the Navigator.

- 2. School at Cape St. Vincent. 3. Bartholomeu Diaz (1487).
- 4. Vasco da Gama (1498). 5. Influence of Portuguese voyages.

6. Motives.

II. DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS

Christopher Columbus (1451-1506). - 1. Boyhood of Columbus. 2. Columbus in Portugal. 3. Origin of his project. 4. Spanish friends; Columbus at La Rabida; Father Perez. 5. The contract. 6. Objects (was explorer and missionary).

7. Ships and crew: three ships, crew of 120. 8. Voyage of discovery. 9. Finds land — Guanahani (Bahama Islands), Oct. 12, 1492. 10. Other discoveries. 11. Return voyage. 12. Reception. 13. Treaty of Tordesillas. 14. Transfer of civilization to New World. 15. Later voyages. 16. Downfall and death (1506). 17. Observation of Thacher.

III. EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENTS

John Cabot (1497-1498). -- 1. Discovery of mainland of North America (1497). 2. Second voyage (1498). 3. Advantage to England.

Portuguese Exploration (1500-1501). — 1. Cabral's discovery of Brazil; result of interest in discovery created by Prince Henry.

2. Vespucci's voyage a result of Cabral's. 3. Naming America (1507).

Later Spanish Discovery and Exploration (1513–1543). — 1. Discovery of the Pacific (1513). 2. Discovery of Florida. 3. Discovery of the Philippines. 4. Death of Magellan. 5. Circumnavigation of the globe (1519–1522). 6. Conquest of Mexico. 7. Conquest of Peru. 8. Invasion of Florida by Narvaez. 9. Expedition of De Soto. 10. Marcos and Coronado. 11. Cabrillo. 12. Spanish exploration continuous.

Founding of St. Augustine (1565).

French Exploration and Settlement (1524–1609). — 1. Voyage of Verrazano (1524). 2. Voyages of Cartier. 3. Ribaut's settlement in Carolina. 4. Laudonnière's colony in Florida; massacre by Menendez. 5. Revenge of De Gourgues. 6. Port Royal settled (1605). 7. Founding of Quebec (1608). 8. War on the Iroquois; the result of Champlain's error.

English Exploration and Settlement (1576–1588).—1. Frobisher's voyages (1576–1579). 2. Voyages and discoveries of Drake. 3. Amadas and Barlowe. 4. The Roanoke settlements. 5. Defeat of the Armada (1588).

IV. THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

The Natives.—1. A new race of men; why called Indians.
2. How classified; names of nations. 3. The clan and the tribe.
4. The half-civilized Indians. 5. The mound builders. 6. Physical and other characteristics. 7. Origin of the Indians. 8. Religion.
9. Lack of domestic animals. 10. Occupations. 11. Clothing; food.
12. Travel; trails. 13. Warfare. 14. Arts and names.

V. VIRGINIA, THE FIRST PERMANENT ENGLISH COLONY

Virginia (1606–1676). — 1. The two Virginia companies (1606).

2. The Jamestown colony (1607). 3. The first president; cause of unpopularity. 4. Captain John Smith; traditional character. 5. The "starving time." 6. Dale's laws. 7. Private property established; result. 8. The first American legislature (1619). 9. Negro slavery (1619). 10. Coming of women. 11. Indian massacres (1622 and 1644). 12. Made a royal province (1624). 13. Governor Berkeley; Indian attacks (1675). 14. Bacon's Rebellion (1676)

VI. THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES (1620–1692)

The Plymouth Company; the Council for New England.

Plymouth Colony.—1. The Pilgrims. 2. The Separatists in Holland; why they left. 3. Arrival in America (1620). 4. "Mayflower Compact." 5. Relations with the Indians. 6. First Thanksgiving. 7. Common property.

Massachusetts.—1. Coming of the Puritans. 2. Massachusetts charter. 3. Boston settled (1630). 4. Union of church and state. 5. Education. 6. Persecution of Quakers. 7. Salem witchcraft (1692).

Connecticut. — 1. Beginnings of Connecticut. 2. "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut" (1639). 3. New Haven colony. 4. The Connecticut charter. 5. Pequot war (1637).

Rhode Island. —1. Teachings of Roger Williams. 2. Founding of Providence (1636). 3. Government of Providence. 4. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. 5. Charters of Rhode Island. 6. Religious toleration.

New Hampshire. — 1. Founding of Dover and Piscataqua (1623).

Massachusetts claims territory.
 Made a royal province (1679).
 Maine. — 1. French attempts at settlement; hostility of Argall.
 Early English stations.
 Gorges receives territory.
 Annexed by Massachusetts.

Development of New England. — 1. The United Colonies of New England; first union (1643). 2. King Philip's War (1675–1678). 3. Massachusetts loses charter (1684). 4. Rule of Andros. 5. The revolution (1688) in England. 6. New charter of Massachusetts (1691).

VII. THE MIDDLE COLONIES

New Netherland (1609–1664). — 1. Exploration by Henry Hudson (1609). 2. Adrian Block. 3. Extent of New Netherland. 4. First settlements (1623). 5. Early Dutch governors. 6. The Patroons. 7. William Kieft. 8. Peter Stuyvesant. 9. Conquest of New Sweden (1655). 10. Conquest of New Netherland by the English (1664).

New York (1664-1689). — 1. Governor Dongan. 2. Coming of Andros. 3. Leisler. 4. Rule of William III.

New Jersey (1664-1702). — 1. Origin of name. 2. English settlers. 3. Quakers in West Jersey. 4. Penn's purchase of East Jersey. 5. Becomes a royal province (1702).

Pennsylvania (1681–1691). -1. William Penn. 2. Boundaries of the province. 3. Founding of Philadelphia (1683). 4. Relations with Indians. 5. Government. 6. Toleration.

VIII. THE SOUTHERN COLONIES, EXCEPT VIRGINIA

Maryland (1634-1715). — 1. George Calvert; experiences in Newfoundland and in Jamestown; disappointment and death. 2. His son Cecilius succeeds to his rights. 3. The charter of Maryland. 4. Settlement at St. Mary's (1634). 5. Relations with Indians. 6. Hostility of Virginia. 7. Trouble with Claiborne. 8. The assembly; Governor Leonard Calvert. 9. Rapid growth. 10. The Jesuit missionaries. 11. Invasion of Claiborne and Ingle. 12. Death of Governor Calvert. 13. Act of Toleration (1649). 14. The Puritans in power. 15. After the Restoration (1660). 16. Territorial losses.

Delaware (1638–1691). — 1. Settlement by Peter Minuit (1638), under Swedish charter secured by Usselinx. 2. Conquered by Dutch (1655). 3. Taken by Duke of York. 4. Granted to William Penn (1681). 5. Given separate legislature.

The Carolinas (1653–1729). — 1. The Carolina charter. 2. Virginian settlers in Carolina; appointment of William Drummond. 3. English settlers from Barbados. 4. Locke's Fundamental Constitution. 5. Beginnings of Charleston (1670). 6. Arrival of French and Scots. 7. Separation into two royal provinces (1729).

Georgia (1733-1765). — 1. Imprisonment for debt; objects of Oglethorpe. 2. The Georgia charter. 3. Savannah founded (1733). 4. A royal province (1751). 5. Slow growth of colony. 6. Arrival of Austrians, Italians, and French.

IX. SURVEY OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES

The Thirteen Colonies. — 1. Union of England and Scotland.

2. English colonies after 1700. 3. Races represented.

Colonial Government. — 1. Forms of government: charter, proprietary, and royal. 2. Unrepresented in Parliament. 3. Lords of Trade and Plantations. 4. The colonial governor. 5. The council. 6. The assembly. 7. Local government. 8. Colonial laws.

Colonial Life. — 1 Houses. 2. Clothing. 3. Manufactures. 4. Agriculture. 5. Travel and communication. 6. Navigation Acts. 7. Pirates. 8. Religion. 9. Education; printing; Boston News Letter (1704). 10. Amusements.

X. NEW FRANCE AND LOUISIANA (1615-1718)

The French in North America. — 1. Missionary work in New France (Canada). 2. Captivity of Father Jogues, S.J. 3. Coming of Father Le Jeune, S.J. 4. The Huron mission. 5. Brébeuf and Lalemant. 6. Missions in New York. 7. Marquette and Joliet. 8. La Salle; exploration of the Mississippi. 9. Extent of Louisiana and of Canada. 10. Last efforts of La Salle. 11. New Orleans settled (1718). 12. Coureurs de bois.

XI. THE INTERCOLONIAL WARS

King William's War (1689-1697). 1. Cause. 2. Massacre of Lachine. 3. Massacre of Schenectady. 4. Salmon Falls and Portland. 5. Siege of Quebec. 6. Treaty of Ryswick (1697).

Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). - 1. Cause. 2. War in the South; destruction of Apalachee missions; the Tuscaroras move to New York. 3. Raid on Deerfield, Mass. 4. Capture of Port Royal. 5. Treaty of Utrecht (1713); territorial changes.

King George's War (1744-1748). - 1. Capture of Louisburg. 2. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748); restoration of conquests.

French in the Ohio Valley (1749-1753). -1. French take possession; build forts. 2. Protest of Dinwiddie; mission of Washington.

French and Indian War (1754-1763). — 1. English driven from the Ohio. 2. Battle of Great Meadows. 3. Surrender of Fort Necessity. 4. Albany Convention. 5. Braddock's expedition. 6. Other English failures of 1755. 7. Exile of Acadians. 8. Victories of Montcalm: Oswego, Fort William Henry, Ticonderoga. 9. English take Louisburg and Fort Duquesne. 10. Fall of Quebec (1759). 11. Capture of Montreal. 12. Terms of Peace.

Proclamation of 1763.

Pontiac's War (1763-1764).

XII. CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The Stamp Act.—1. Public debt of England. 2. Taxes and troops. 3. The Boston Instructions. 4. The Stamp Act passed (1765). 5. American Opposition. 6. Repeal of Stamp Act.

Other Acts and Clashes. — 1. The Townshend Acts. 2. Legislatures dissolved. 3. The Boston "Massacre." 4. Other collisions. 5. Duty on tea retained. 6. "Boston Tea Party." 7. Intolerable Acts of 1774. 8. Parties in England and America.

Organization. — 1. Committees of Correspondence. 2. First Continental Congress (1774). 3. Arming and drilling.

XIII. WAR IN NEW ENGLAND (1775-1776); INDEPENDENCE DECLARED (1776)

The War in 1775-1776.—1. Skirmish at Lexington (Apr. 19, 1775); fight at Concord. 2. Capture of Ticonderoga. 3. Meeting of second Continental Congress; Washington appointed commander in chief. 4. Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775). 5. Washington in command. 6. Invasion of Canada. 7. England hires foreign soldiers. 8. British driven from Boston (Mar. 17, 1776).

Progress toward Independence. — 1. Parliament unfriendly. 2. Expulsion of royal governors. 3. Victories in the Carolinas. 4. Colonies become states. 5. Independence declared (July 4, 1776).

6. The Declaration of Independence.

XIV. WAR IN THE MIDDLE STATES (1776-1778)

New York and New Jersey. — 1. Importance of New York. 2. Battle of Long Island (Aug. 27, 1776). 3. Loss of the city of New York. 4. Retreat across New Jersey. 5. Capture of Hessians at Trenton. 6. Financial difficulties. 7. Robert Morris. 8. Battle of Princeton (Jan. 3, 1777).

Struggle for the Hudson (1777).—1. British plans. 2. Battle of Oriskany. 3. Defeat of St. Leger. 4. Burgoyne's invasion. 5. Battle of Bennington. 6. Burgoyne's surrender (Oct. 17, 1777).

Struggle for the Delaware (1777-1778). — 1. Howe's blunder. 2. Battle of Chad's Ford, or Brandywine. 3. Battle of Germantown (Oct. 1777). 4. Washington at Valley Forge. 5. British abandon Philadelphia. 6. Battle of Monmouth Court House (June, 1778). 7. Extent of American success in campaign of 1777-1778.

XV. THE WINNING OF THE WEST (1778-1779)

Foreign Relations. — 1. The French alliance (February, 1778).

2. Private assistance. 3. Spain and her colonies friendly. 4. Attitude of Holland. 5. Attitude of Canadians. 6. Sympathy of the French in Illinois.

Clark's Campaign. — 1. Expedition of George Rogers Clark. 2. Capture of Kaskaskia (July, 1778). 3. Father Pierre Gibault. 4. Recruiting the French. 5. British occupy Vincennes. 6. François Vigo aids Clark. 7. Capture of Vincennes by Clark; the march; the results. 8. Importance of Clark's campaign.

XVI. WAR ON THE SEA (1775-1783)

Naval Battles. — 1. The men of Machias, Maine. 2. The first sea fight (1775). 3. Other exploits of the O'Briens. 4. Congress acts (October, 1775). 5. The first fleet; Esek Hopkins commander. 6. Captain Barry's first victory. 7. His capture of armed ships in the Delaware. 8. Barry's victories in the Alliance. 9. Career of John Paul Jones; victory of the Bonhomme Richard; treachery of Captain Landais. 10. Privateers. 11. Last battle of the war.

XVII. WAR IN THE SOUTH (1778-1781); INDEPENDENCE WON

War in Georgia. — 1. British capture Savannah (December, 1778). 2. Americans and French repulsed at Savannah.

Events in the North. -1. Capture of Stony Point by Gen. Anthony Wayne (June, 1779). 2. Treason of Arnold: capture of André (1780). 3. Signs of discontent.

War in the Carolinas. — 1. Loss of Charleston (May 12, 1780).

2. Defeat of Gates at Camden (August, 1780). 3. Victory at King's Mountain (Oct. 7, 1780). 4. Greene supersedes Gates. 5. British defeat at Cowpens (1781). 6. Battle of Guilford (1781); Cornwallis withdraws to Virginia. 7. Battle at Hobkirk's Hill. 8. Battle of Eutaw Springs. 9. Ability of General Greene.

War in Virginia. — 1. Attempt of Cornwallis to crush Lafayette.
2. The French army under Rochambeau. 3. De Grasse collecting men and money. 4. French armies and Washington at Yorktown.
5. De Grasse wins naval engagement and blockades Cornwallis.

6. Siege of Yorktown. 7. Surrender of Cornwallis (Oct. 19, 1781).

Independence Won. — 1. Independence acknowledged by George III. 2. Boundaries of the United States. 3. The Newburg Addresses. 4. British evacuate New York. 5. Washington surrenders command to Congress.

XVIII. THE CRITICAL ERA (1783-1789)

Under the Articles of Confederation. — 1. The situation in 1783.

2. Controversies between states. 3. Shays's Rebellion (1786–87).

4. The Annapolis convention (1786). 5. A helpless Congress. 6. A defective constitution. 7. Land cessions of states. 8. Movement of population. 9. Ordinance of 1787; slavery prohibited in the Northwest Territory.

The Federal Constitution.—1. The Constitutional Convention (1787); leading delegates in attendance. 2. The Federalist. 3. The Constitution adopted. 4. Outline of Constitution. 5. Federalists and Anti-Federalists. 6. Washington the first President (1789).

XIX. BEGINNINGS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Catholics in America. — 1. The missionary life. 2. Growth of toleration. 3. Right Reverend John Carroll made Prefect Apostolic. 4. First Catholic Church in the city of New York. 5. Father Carroll appointed bishop. 6. Sulpician priests arrive in the United States. 7. Diocese of Baltimore in 1790. 8. The First Synod (opened Nov. 7, 1791). 9. A Catholic church dedicated in Boston. 10. Mission to the Indians of Maine. 11. Catholics in the West. 12. The Church in the South. 13. New Sees (1808). 14. Death of Archbishop Carroll (Dec. 3, 1815). 15. Washington's letter to his Catholic countrymen.

XX. GOVERNMENT BY THE FEDERALISTS

The Country in 1789. — 1. The people and their industries. 2. City life. 3. Rural life. 4. Shops and trade.

George Washington, President (1789–1797). — 1. Organizing the government; the Cabinet. 2. The tariff. 3. Funding the public debt. 4. Assumption of state debts. 5. Removal of the capital to Philadelphia (1790), and Washington (1800). 6. Effect of Hamilton's measures. 7. The Whisky Insurrection. 8. The United States Bank. 9. The mint. 10. Ten constitutional amendments. 11. New states admitted; change in the flag. 12. Indian troubles; Wayne's victory. 13. Washington and Adams reëlected. 14. Proclamation of Neutrality (1793). 15. English seize American ships. 16. Jay's treaty (1795) with England. 17. Treaty with Spain. 18. Farewell Address of Washington (1796).

John Adams, President (1797–1801). — 1. Election of Adams and Jefferson. 2. X, Y, Z affair. 3. Preparing for war with France. 4. Naval war with France. 5. Alien and Sedition Acts. 6. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798, 1799). 7. Death of Washington (Dec. 14, 1799). 8. Federalists defeated; election of Jefferson and Burr.

XXI. GOVERNMENT BY THE REPUBLICANS (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS), 1801–1817

Thomas Jefferson, President (1801-1809). — 1. Jefferson and the civil service. 2. Purchase of Louisiana (1803). 3. Lewis and Clark expedition. 4. Jefferson's policy. 5. The Twelfth Amendment (1804; note, page 249).

6. Growth of the Republic (1790-1805); new states. 7. Industrial progress; Whitney's cotton gin (1793). 8. Social and legislative reforms.

9. Jefferson reëlected. 10. The Burr-Hamilton duel (1804). 11. Burr's project; his arrest and trial. 12. Fulton's steamboat (1807). 13. War with Tripoli. 14. England and France at war. 15. Napoleon's decrees; British orders in council. 16. The *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*. 17. The long embargo (1807-1809).

James Madison, President (1809–1817). — 1. Non-Intercourse Act. 2. The *President* and the *Little Belt*. 3. War declared against England (1812).

War of 1812.—4. Causes; impressment, search and seizure of our ships. 5. State of the nation. 6. American plans. 7. Surrender of Detroit. 8. Massacre at Raisin River. 9. Battle of Lake Erie; result. 10. Battle of the Thames. 11. Fighting along the Niagara (1814). 12. Capture of Washington. 13. British attack on Baltimore; composition of Star Spangled Banner. 14. Battles of Lake Champlain and of Plattsburg (Sept. 11, 1814); result of victory. 15. Sea fights. 16. Treaty of Ghent (December, 1814). 17. Results of the war. 18. The Hartford Convention. 19. Battle of New Orleans (Jan. 8, 1815).

XXII. GROWTH OF THE WEST; ERA OF GOOD FEELING

The West after 1815.—1. Land policy of the government. 2. Routes to the Northwest. 3. Westward movement of population. 4. The log cabin. 5. Life of the pioneer. 6. Political importance of the West; new states. 7. Charter of the second United States Bank (1816). 8. Rise of manufactures. 9. A protective tariff (1824); the "American system." 10. Signs of prosperity.

James Monroe, President (1817–1825). — 1. Election and reëlection of Monroe. 2. Acquisition of Florida (1819). 3. The slavery question: slavery in the North, and in the South; cause of its growth; the balancing of slave and free states. 4. The Missouri Compro-

mise (1820). 5. The Monroe Doctrine (1823); warning to Russia; warning to the Holy Alliance. 6. Political parties; House of Representatives chooses President (1824).

XXIII. ADAMS AND THE JACKSONIAN EPOCH

John Quincy Adams, President (1825-1829).—1. The charge against Adams; his character. 2. An unsuccessful administration. 3. New parties: Whigs and Democrats. 4. The tariff of 1828. 5. Election of Jackson.

Andrew Jackson, President (1829–1837).—1. Inauguration of Jackson. 2. The spoils system. 3. Nullification: Southern view presented by Hayne and Calhoun; Northern view presented by Webster. 4. South Carolina's ordinance of nullification. 5. The Compromise of 1833. 6. Jackson reëlected. 7. Jackson opposes United States Bank; removal of government deposits therefrom. 8. Treatment of the Indians. 9. Payment of the national debt. 10. The surplus revenue of 1837. 11. The "Specie Circular." 12. Election of 1836.

Martin Van Buren, President (1837-1841).—1. Panic of 1837. 2. The subtreasury. 3. The Patriot War in Canada. 4. The Abolition movement. 5. The election of 1840; the candidates; the log-cabin campaign.

XXIV. DEVELOPMENT, IMMIGRATION, AND REFORM (1820-1840)

Transportation. — 1. National turnpike. 2. Early canals. 3. The first railways. 4. Development of steamboats; the *Savannah* crosses the Atlantic (1819).

Other Changes.—1. Domestic trade. 2. The factory system. 3. The reaper and other inventions. 4. Improvement in education. 5. American literature: poets, novelists, historians. 6. Immigration and the growth of cities and towns. 7. Labor organizations.

Reform Movements.—1. Dorr's Rebellion. 2. The Anti-Rent War. 3. An epoch of reform; hospitals; prisons; communism. 4. Spiritual unrest: camp meetings; the Adventists; the Mormons.

Mormonism. — 1. Joseph Smith. 2. The Book of Mormon. 3. Mormon church: in Ohio, in Missouri, and at Nauvoo, Ill. 4. Smith teaches polygamy. 5. His death (1844). 6. Removal under Brigham Young to Utah.

Anti-Catholic Feeling (1834). — 1. Destruction of Ursuline Convent, Charlestown, Massachusetts, by a mob. 2. Denounced by citizens in Faneuil Hall. 3. Movement not confined to Boston. 4. Maria Monk.

XXV. EXPANSION AND DISSENSION (1840-1852)

William Henry Harrison, President (1841). -1. Whigs elect President and Congress. 2. Death of President Harrison (April 4, 1841).

John Tyler, President (1841-1845). — 1. Political sympathies of Tyler with Democrats. 2. Resignation of Cabinet, except Webster. 3. Webster-Ashburton treaty.

Texas. — 1. Longing for Texas (1819–1835); James Long; Moses and Stephen Austin; civil war in Mexico; Texas organizes a government. 2. War between Texas and Mexico (1835–1836); causes; Americans assist Texans; Texans declare independence; massacre at the Alamo; Houston wins battle of San Jacinto (April, 1836); Mexico unable to win back Texas. 3. Democrats elect Polk President. 4. Texas annexed to the United States (1845).

Oregon Country. — 1. United States succeeds to rights of Spain.

2. Claim derived from discovery of Captain Gray (1792). 3. Russian claims; effect of Monroe Doctrine; England and United States sole claimants. 4. Early Spanish and English exploration. 5. Joint occupation. 6. The Hudson Bay Company. 7. Many American settlers arrive in Oregon (1843). 8. Settlement of Oregon question (1846).

Anti-Catholic outbreak in Philadelphia (1844).

James K. Polk, President (1845–1849); the War with Mexico. —
1. Causes: opinion of John Quincy Adams; opinion of Hubert Howe Bancroft; American claims against Mexico. 2. First aggressions.
3. Message of President Polk; results. 4. Gen. Taylor's campaign on the Rio Grande: battle of Palo Alto (May 8, 1846); battle of Resaca de la Palma; siege of Monterey; battle of Buena Vista (Feb. 22–23, 1847). 5. Gen. Scott's campaign from Vera Cruz: occupation of Vera Cruz (March, 1847); battle of Cerro Gordo; occupation of Puebla; battles of Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec; occupation of Mexico city (Sept. 13, 1847). 6. Col. Kearny in New Mexico. 7. Conquest of California. 8. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Political Issues. — 1. The Wilmot Proviso. 2. Whigs elect General Taylor President (1846). 3. Rise of Free Soil party.

California. — 1. Growth of California missions. 2. Secularization of missions (1833). 3. Discovery of gold in California (1848): Sutter and Marshall partnership; tidings of the discovery. 4. The routes to California: Cape Horn, Panama, overland. 5. Rush of the forty-niners. 6. Formation of a state government; new states previously admitted.

Zachary Taylor, President (1849–1850).—1. Antislavery agitation. 2. Demands of the South. 3. The senators from California. 4. Clay's Compromise of 1850 (Omnibus Bill). 5. Death of President Taylor.

Millard Fillmore, President (1850–1853).—1. Compromise of 1850 enacted. 2. The Fugitive Slave Law. 3. Enforcing Fugitive Slave Law. 4. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. 5. Death of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun. 6. Democrats elect Pierce President (1852).

XXVI. EFFORT TO EXTEND SLAVERY

Franklin Pierce, President (1853–1857). — 1. Desire to acquire Cuba: Ostend Manifesto. 2. Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854); results of its passage. 3. The struggle for Kansas: Emigrant-Aid Society; the "Blue Lodges" and "Border Ruffians;" Kansas Free-Soilers; Topeka convention; the "Wakarusa War;" attitude of President Pierce; assault on Charles Sumner; the Lecompton constitution. 4. Personal Liberty Bills. 5. The Underground Railroad. 6. The Know-Nothing party. 7. Rise of the new Republican party (1856). 8. Defeat of Frémont; the sign of the cross. 9. Democrats elect Buchanan President (1856).

James Buchanan, President (1857–1861).—1. Dred Scott decision (1857). 2. Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858). 3. The John Brown raid (1859); career and object of Brown; injury to Union cause. 4. Election of 1860; split in Democratic party. 5. Lincoln chosen President by Republicans.

XXVII. SURVEY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1840 AND 1860

The People. — 1. Increase in population. 2. Irish and German immigrants. 3. Admission of new states. 4. Education. 5. Journalism.

Industry, Invention, and Trade. — 1. Petroleum; known to French missionary; development of the oil industry. 2. The telegraph. 3. The sewing machine. 4. The reaper. 5. Vulcanized rubber. 6. Other inventions and discoveries. 7. First World's Fair in America. 8. Improvement in transportation. 9. The Atlantic cable. 10. America in the Orient.

The North and the South compared.

XXVIII AND XXIX. THE CIVIL WAR

Close of Buchanan's Term (1860–1861). — 1. Secession of South Carolina (Dec. 20, 1860). 2. Causes of secession. 3. The Confederate States of America; capital; Jefferson Davis chosen provisional president. 4. President Buchanan's attitude. 5. Firing on the Star of the West.

Abraham Lincoln, President (1861–1865).—1. Lincoln's attitude toward slavery and secession. 2. Bombardment of Fort Sumter (Apr. 12, 1861); surrender of Fort Sumter; effect. 3. Lincoln's call for volunteers; awakening of the North; preparations of the South. 4. The struggle in Missouri. 5. Battle of Bull Run (July 21, 1861). 6. McClellan in command of Union army; his victories in western Virginia.

Peninsular Campaign (1862).—1. Union army lands at Fort Monroe. 2. Victories of "Stonewall" Jackson; results. 3. Battle of Seven Pines. 4. The Seven Days' Fight (June 26 to July 1, 1862). 5. Second battle of Bull Run (Aug. 29–30, 1862); activity of "Stonewall" Jackson; death of General Philip Kearney.

First Invasion of the North (1862). — 1. The succession of Confederate victories. 2. Lee's army in Maryland. 3. General Jackson captures Harper's Ferry. 4. McClellan defeats Lee at Antietam (Sept. 16–17, 1862). 5. Battle of Fredericksburg (Dec. 13, 1862). 6. Battle of Chancellorsville (May 2–4, 1863). 7. Result of Confederate victories.

Second Invasion of the North (1863). — 1. Lee drives Union forces from Shenandoah Valley. 2. Invades Maryland and Pennsylvania. 3. Cavalry skirmish at Hanover, Pa. 4. Battle of Gettysburg (July 1–3, 1863). 5. Lee's retreat to Virginia.

Opening the Mississippi (1862-1863).—1. Capture of New Orleans (Apr. 25, 1862). 2. Other victories on the Lower Mississippi. 3. In the north, Grant takes Forts Henry and Donelson, (February, 1862). 4. Battle of Shiloh (Apr. 6-7, 1862). 5. Gen-

eral Pope takes Island No. 10. 6. Bragg's raid; battle of Perryville. 7. Battle of Murfreesboro (Dec. 31, 1862–Jan. 2, 1863). 8. The war in Arkansas. 9. Capture of Vicksburg by Grant. 10. Battle of Chickamauga (September, 1863). 11. Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (November, 1863).

Emancipation. — 1. Compensated emancipation offered to Border States. 2. Military emancipation, effective Jan. 1, 1863. 3. Formation of West Virginia. 4. Reconstruction of Tennessee. 5. The Louisiana Plan. 6. The Thirteenth Amendment (December, 1865). 7. The Draft. 8. Negro soldiers accepted (1863).

The Blockade and the Navy (1861–1865). — 1. Lincoln's proclamation of blockade (1861). 2. Running the blockade. 3. The *Trent* affair (1861). 4. The Confederate navy. 5. The *Alabama* and other cruisers; services of Captain Bulloch. 6. U. S. Navy along the Atlantic coast. 7. U. S. Navy on inland waters. 8. Battle between *Monitor* and *Merrimac* (March, 1862). 9. Destruction of the *Albemarle* by Lieutenant Cushing.

Foreign Relations. — 1. Relations with Great Britain. 2. Relations with France. 3. Services of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Bishop Hughes. 4. Friendship of Russia.

War in the West (1864). — 1. Grant made commander in chief (February, 1864); headquarters with Army of Potomac. 2. Sherman commands armies in West. 3. Red River expedition; object and result. 4. The Atlanta campaign; Sherman forces Johnston toward Atlanta; Hood supersedes Johnston, and is defeated in three battles; Sherman enters Atlanta (Sept. 2, 1864). 5. Hood attacks communications of Sherman; is badly defeated by Thomas at Nashville (Dec. 15–16, 1864). 6. Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea (Nov. 15 to Dec. 10, 1864); eastern Confederate States cut in twain.

War in the East (1864).—1. Grant's advance on Richmond; battles of the Wilderness (May 4-6, 1864), Spottsylvania Court House, and Cold Harbor; Union losses. 2. Siege of Petersburg. 3. Washington threatened by General Early. 4. Devastation of Shenandoah Valley. 5. Sheridan's qualifications; battle of Cedar Creek (October, 1864); Washington made safe. 6. Lincoln reëlected President, November, 1864.

The War in 1865.—1. Sheridan's victory at Five Forks. 2. Lee leaves Richmond. 3. Sheridan gets in front of Lee. 4. Lee sursurrenders to Grant at Appomattox (April 9, 1865). 5. Sherman marches through Georgia and the Carolinas; what was accomplished;

Johnston surrenders to Sherman (Apr. 26, 1865). 6. General Taylor surrenders armies in Alabama and Mississippi. 7. Trans-Mississippi armies surrendered by Gen. Kirby Smith. 8. Capture of Jefferson Davis. 9. Assassination of Lincoln (Apr. 14, 1865); Andrew Johnson becomes President.

Observations on the War. — 1. Magnitude of the war. 2. Strength of the respective armies. 3. Cost of the war. 4. Conditions in the South. 5. War money. 6. National banks. 7. Military prisons. 8. Political parties. 9. Personal liberty; the important question to Lincoln was to preserve the Union.

XXX. Era of Reconstruction (1862-1877)

1. Plans of Reconstruction. 2. Presidential reconstruction under Lincoln.

Andrew Johnson, President (1861–1865). — 1. Presidential reconstruction under Johnson. 2. Congressional reconstruction. 3. Bills of Congress vetoed by Johnson. 4. Joint Committee on Reconstruction. 5. Impeachment of Johnson (1867); Senate fails to convict the President. 6. Reconstruction Acts of 1867. 7. Military government of the South. 8. Carpetbaggers — negro misrule; illiteracy of officials. 9. The Ku-Klux. 10. Election of 1868; Republicans elect Grant.

Ulysses S. Grant, President (1869-1877). — 1. Attitude of President Grant. 2. Fifteenth Amendment, March, 1870. 3. Agitation for home rule in the South. 4. Rise of Liberal Republicans. 5. Rebellion in Cuba; case of the *Virginius*. 6. Reëlection of Grant (1872). 7. Character of Grant. 8. Credit Mobilier. 9. Corrupt officials; impeachment of Secretary Belknap. 10. The "salary grab." 11. Disputed presidential election of 1876; result.

President Hayes (Republican). — Union troops withdrawn from South; end of reconstruction (1877).

Foreign Relations (1867-1872). — 1. Purchase of Alaska (1867). 2. French leave Mexico (1867). 3. Treaty of Washington (1871); settlement of Alabama claims (1872); the arbitrators.

XXXI. GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (1860-1919)

Economic Development. — 1. Discovery of gold and silver. 2. Transportation across the continent; the stagecoach; the pony express; the telegraph; transportation of freight; the Pacific Railroad.

3. Railroads of the United States; benefits of railway construction;
marvelous growth of the West. 4. Interstate Commerce Act.
5. Homestead law. 6. Settling the prairie. 7. Cattle raising.

8. The Indians. 9. Father De Smet, S.J. 10. Indian discon-

tent; the Modocs (1872); the Custer massacre (1876).

11. The South after reconstruction. 12. Mechanical progress; the airplane. 13. Industrial development.

Growth of Population. — 1. Immigration: Irish; German; immigration after 1890. 2. New states admitted. 3. Census of 1910. 4. Catholic population; Catholic education.

XXXII. INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. Panic of 1873. 2. Centennial Exposition (1876).

Rutherford B. Hayes, President (1877-1881). — 1. Strikes of 1877. 2. Specie Payment Act (1879). 3. Silver Purchase Acts. 4. Chinese immigration. 5. Election of 1880; Republicans elect Garfield and Arthur.

James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur (1881-1885). — 1. Assassination of President Garfield (1881); Arthur becomes President.
2. Legislation against polygamy. 3. Civil Service Law of 1883.
4. The new navy. 5. Cleveland elected President by the Democrats (1884).

Grover Cleveland, President (1885–1889).—1. Prohibition of alien contract labor. 2. Creation of Interstate Commerce Commission. 3. Bureau of Labor established. 4. Presidential Succession Act (1886). 5. Statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World." 6. Republicans elect Harrison President (1888).

Benjamin Harrison, President (1889–1893). — 1. Dependent pension law (1890). 2. McKinley Tariff Act (1890). 3. Sherman Anti-Trust Law (1890). 4. Foreign affairs: Italians in New Orleans; American sailors in Chile. 5. Cleveland again elected President by the Democrats (1892). 6. General introduction of the Australian ballot.

Grover Cleveland, President (1893–1897). — 1. Panic of 1893. 2. Congress convoked in special session. 3. Repeal of Sherman Silver Act. 4. The Income Tax Law; decision of U. S. Supreme Court (1895). 5. Bering Sea dispute. 6. Samoa and Hawaii. 7. McKinley elected President by the Republicans (1896).

President McKinley. - The Dingley Tariff Act.

XXXIII. WAR WITH SPAIN AND LATER EVENTS (1898-1912)

William McKinley, President (1897–1901); War with Spain (1898). -1. Discontent in Cuba; rebellion breaks out (1895). 2. Attempt of Spain to put down revolt; policy of General Weyler; blunder of Spanish minister. 3. Causes of war. 4. Destruction of the Maine (Feb. 15, 1898). 5. Congress acknowledges independence of Cuba. 6. Conquest of the Philippines; Dewey's victory (May 1, 1898). 7. Cervera's fleet blockaded; Hobson's attempt. 8. Battles of El Caney and San Juan. 9. Destruction of Cervera's fleet. 10. General Toral surrenders Spanish army. 11. General Miles occupies Porto Rico. 12. Treaty of Paris (1898).

Consequences of War with Spain. - 1. Annexation of Hawaiian Islands (July, 1898). 2. Cuba; the Platt Amendment; American army leaves island (May 20, 1902). 3. Porto Rico. 4. Philippines: war with followers of Aguinaldo; capture of Aguinaldo; government and people of Philippines.

Other Events. — 1. The Hague Agreements. 2. "Pious Fund of the Californias." 3. Holland's submarine (1898). 4. McKinley reëlected (1900). 5. Assassination of President McKinley (1901); 6. Theodore Roosevelt becomes President (Sept. 14, 1901).

Theodore Roosevelt, President (1901–1909).—1. Chinese exclusion act extended to insular possessions (1902). 2. Irrigation of arid lands. 3. Strike of anthracite mine workers. 4. The Panama Canal: begun by French company; Congress empowered President to buy out company and complete canal; offer to Colombia rejected; secession of Panama; independence of Panama acknowledged (1903); concessions secured by the United States. 5. Importance of the canal. 6. Roosevelt elected President by the Republicans (1904).
7. Oklahoma admitted. 8. The Pure Food Act. 9. Conservation policy of Roosevelt. 10. Great fire in San Francisco. 11. Republicans elect Taft President (1908).

William Howard Taft, President (1909–1913).—1. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill; effect on unity of Republicans. 2. Legal warfare against "trusts." 3. Postal savings banks (1910). 4. Domestic parcel post. 5. Admission of Arizona and New Mexico (1912). 6. Democrats win Congressional election. 7. Division in Republican ranks. 8. Woodrow Wilson elected President by the Democrats (1912).

Recent Constitutional Development. -1. The Initiative and Referendum. 2. Municipal government; the commission plan. 3. The

recall. 4. Direct primaries. 5. Woman suffrage. 6. Sixteenth Amendment; income tax. 7. Seventeenth Amendment; popular election of senators. 8. Eighteenth Amendment; prohibition.

XXXIV. WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION; WAR WITH GERMANY

Woodrow Wilson, President (1913—).—1. The Underwood Tariff. 2. The income tax. 3. The Federal Reserve Act. 4. Anarchy in Mexico; Americans occupy Vera Cruz; A, B, C, envoys at Niagara Falls, Canada; "watchful waiting" policy of President. 5. Beginning of World War; sudden attack by Central Powers. 6. Our controversy with Germany; sinking of Lusitania; Secretary of State Bryan resigns. 7. President Wilson reëlected.

War with Germany. — 1. The break with Germany; cause. 2. Arming American merchant vessels. 3. President recommends war. 4. Declaration of war by Congress (April 6, 1917). 5. President's Flag Day address. 6. Establishment of Reserve Officers' Training camps. 7. Registration for military service, June 5, 1917. 8. American Expeditionary Force in France. 9. American Red Cross; Y. M. C. A.; Knights of Columbus. 10. The situation in Europe early in 1918. 11. The Blockade. 12. The participation of the United States. 13. Unity of command.

American Victories. — 1. Cantigny. 2. Belleau Wood. 3. Vaux. 4. Soissons. 5. Chateau-Thierry. 6. Other American successes. 7. Great American victory at St. Mihiel (Sept. 12, 1918). 8. Our successes in the Argonne Forest. 9. Americans cut German main line of communications.

Armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918; terms of the armistice.

Conditions in the United States. -1. Shipbuilding during the war. 2. Government control of railways. 3. Expenditures.

Conference at Versailles (begins in January, 1919).

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